COURSE GUIDEBOOK

The Great Courses[SM]

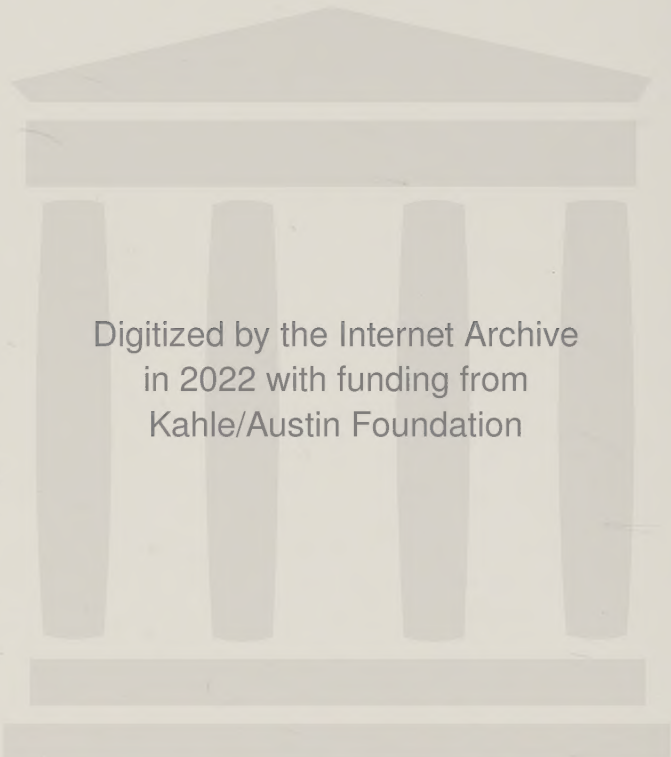
Teaching that engages the mind™

The *Aeneid* of Virgil

Professor Elizabeth Vandiver
University of Maryland

THE TEACHING COMPANY®

The *Aeneid* of Virgil


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/aenidofvirgil0000vand

Elizabeth Vandiver, Ph.D.

Visiting Assistant Professor of Classics, University of Maryland

Elizabeth Vandiver did her undergraduate work at Shimer College, Mt. Carroll, Illinois, where she matriculated in 1972 as a sixteen-year-old "early entrant." After receiving her B.A. in 1975, she spent several years working as a librarian before deciding to pursue graduate work in Classics at the University of Texas at Austin. She received her M.A. in 1984 and her Ph.D. in 1990.

In addition to her current position at the University of Maryland (flagship campus at College Park), Professor Vandiver has held visiting professorships at Northwestern University, the University of Georgia, The Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies (Rome, Italy), Loyola University (New Orleans) and Utah State University.

In 1998 Dr. Vandiver received the American Philological Association's Excellence in Teaching Award, the most prestigious teaching award available to American classicists. Other awards include the Northwestern University Department of Classics Excellence in Teaching award for 1998 and the University of Georgia's Outstanding Honors Professor award in 1993 and 1994.

Dr. Vandiver has published a book, *Heroes in Herodotus: The Interaction of Myth and History*, and several articles, as well as delivering numerous papers at national and international conferences. She is currently working on a second book, examining the influence of the classical tradition on the British poets of World War I.

Dr. Vandiver is married to Franklin J. Hildy, Ph.D., Professor and Chair, Department of Theatre, at the University of Maryland.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Table of Contents

The Aeneid of Virgil

Instructor Biography i

Foreword 1

Lecture One Introduction 2

Lecture Two From Aeneas to Romulus 5

Lecture Three Rome, Augustus, and Virgil 9

Lecture Four The Opening of the *Aeneid* 13

Lecture Five From Troy to Carthage 17

Lecture Six Unhappy Dido 21

Lecture Seven Funeral Games and a Journey to the Dead 25

Lecture Eight Italy and the Future 28

Lecture Nine Virgil's *Iliad* 32

Lecture Ten The Inevitable Doom of Turnus 36

Lecture Eleven The Gods and Fate 40

Lecture Twelve The End of the *Aeneid* and Beyond 44

Timeline 48

Glossary 50

Biographical Notes 52

Bibliography 58

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

The Aeneid of Virgil

Scope:

This set of twelve lectures introduces the student to the great epic of ancient Rome, the *Aeneid*. The lectures provide careful, detailed examinations of the most important episodes in each epic, address various critical and interpretative issues, and give background information on the cultural assumptions contained in the epic.

The first lecture sets the stage for our reading of the *Aeneid* by providing an introduction to the *Aeneid* and to the plan of the course. Lecture Two covers two types of background material, mythic and literary; it provides a brief summary of the legends of the Trojan War and of Romulus and Remus, and then discusses the *Aeneid*'s literary antecedents. Lecture Three discusses the historical context in which the *Aeneid* was written, giving a brief description of Augustus' rule and the wars that led up to it.

Lectures Four through Twelve discuss the *Aeneid* itself. Lecture Four looks in detail at Book I, particularly at the crucial concepts and characters that are introduced in that book. Lecture Five covers Aeneas' own description of the Sack of Troy and his subsequent wanderings, as he recounts them in Books II and III. Lecture Six discusses the love affair between Aeneas and Dido, Queen of Carthage, in Book IV and pays special attention to the critical question of how we should interpret Aeneas' actions in that book. Lecture Seven takes us from Carthage to Sicily in Book V and begins our discussion of Book VI and Aeneas' journey to the Underworld. In Lecture Eight, we continue our discussion of Aeneas in the Underworld, focusing on his encounters with the ghosts of Dido, Deiphobus, and his father, Anchises. This lecture also covers Books VII–VIII of the *Aeneid*, which bring Aeneas to Latium, introduce several crucial characters such as Latinus and Turnus, and begin the Trojans' war with the Latins. Lecture Nine discusses Books IX and X, the most "Iliadic" section of the *Aeneid*, and pays close attention to Aeneas' character in those books. In Lecture Ten, we analyze the last two books of the epic, noticing how the narrative builds inexorably toward Turnus' death at Aeneas' hands. Lecture Eleven analyzes the role of the gods in the *Aeneid*, and discusses how the gods interact with fate. Finally, Lecture Twelve looks in detail at one of the most important scholarly issues of the *Aeneid*, whether Aeneas is justified in his actions at the end of the epic; the lecture then concludes with a brief overview of the *Aeneid*'s influence on later western literature.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture One

Introduction

Scope: This first lecture introduces students to the overall plan of the course. The lecture covers three main points. First, it discusses what the *Aeneid* is and why it is still worth reading, 2,000 years after its creation. Second, it outlines and explains the approach that the lectures will take. Third, the lecture gives a brief overview of Roman culture's relationship to Greek culture, from which it borrowed a great deal in art, literature, and even religion. The lecture closes by discussing the Romans' attitudes toward Greek culture.

Outline

I. This introductory lecture has three main objects.

A. The lecture begins by discussing what kind of work the *Aeneid* is and why it is still worth reading, 2,000 years after its creation.

B. The second section of the lecture outlines the approach and overall shape of the course.

C. The third section provides essential background information on Roman culture's use of Greek models.

II. The *Aeneid* is the great national epic of ancient Rome and one of the most important works of literature in the Western tradition.

A. Within Roman culture, it provided a foundation myth.

1. It forms a link between the Greek mythic tradition and Roman history.

2. Along with the works of Terence, Cicero, and Sallust, it served as one of basic works of education.

B. Because of Rome's incalculable influence on later European civilization, the *Aeneid* served as the model for a great deal of later literature (cf., Dante's *Commedia*, in which Virgil himself appears).

C. During late antiquity and the Middle Ages, when Greek was not studied in Western Europe, the *Aeneid* was the primary source for the Trojan War myth, one of the most important and pervasive myths of Greek, Roman, and later Western civilization.

D. The *Aeneid* gives the fullest surviving account of the Trojan horse and the Sack of Troy, crucial episodes in the Trojan War myth.

E. The *Aeneid* is much more than the story of Aeneas' journey from Troy to Italy; it is an examination of leadership, conflicting duties and desires, and the relationship of the individual to society.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

III. These lectures will concentrate on careful, detailed examination of the *Aeneid*'s background, main themes and significant episodes. We cannot discuss every episode of the epic, but we will attempt to touch on its highlights, especially on those scenes that bring out wider thematic issues. Accordingly, the lectures will approach the *Aeneid* from three angles.

A. Most lectures will include some synopsis of the relevant section's plot. The "essential reading" will be taken from the *Aeneid* itself; by the end of the course, the student will have read the entire epic.

B. When necessary, the lectures will also discuss the cultural background and assumptions of the specific scenes under discussion.

C. Finally, the lectures will examine the larger issues with which the epic deals: the deeper content of which plot and cultural assumptions are the vehicle.

IV. Before beginning our reading of the *Aeneid* itself, we need to cover some essential background information. We will begin by examining Roman culture's adaptation of Greek models to its own uses.

A. First, we must take cognizance of the relative dates of Greece and Rome.

1. Greece is much older than Rome; Homer's epics were set down in the ninth century BC and dealt with events believed to have occurred in the twelfth century BC. Athens reached its cultural and political zenith in the fifth century BC, when Rome was still a small kingdom in central Italy.
2. In the fourth century BC, Greece was conquered by Phillip of Macedon and his son, Alexander the Great. This marks the Hellenistic Age, which persisted until 31 BC.
3. During this period, Greek political influence was waning, but its cultural influence was still quite strong.
4. At the same time, Rome was expanding and coming into contact with Greece and its culture through trade and direct contact with Greek colonies in Italy (Magna Graecia). For example, the city of Tarantum fought against Roman domination with the help of the Greek king Pyrrhus from 280–270 BC.

B. Roman culture had very few indigenous art forms.

1. There must have been some native poetry, stories, etc., but only a very, very little of this material has survived.
2. The Romans themselves did not place a high value on such forms of "folk art."

C. Instead of developing its own traditions, Roman culture derived a great deal of its art, philosophy, literature, and even religion directly from Greece.

1. This is most clearly obvious in the visual arts; Roman sculpture used Greek techniques and often copied Greek originals.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

2. Roman literature followed Greek models. For example, Livius Andronicus produced a tragedy and a comedy (both modeled on Greek originals) in 240 BC and Roman epic began with a translation of Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin, also by Livius Andronicus.
3. The most important early epic was the *Annales* of Ennius (239–169 BC), which used Greek epic meter (dactylic hexameter). Only fragmentary quotations from, and references to, the *Annales* exist. It is interesting to note that Ennius presented himself as the reincarnation of Homer.
4. Other Greek literary forms that the Romans copied include lyric poetry and history, both of which came into their own in the first century BC.
5. Perhaps the most surprising cultural borrowing is religion and mythology. The Romans assimilated their major deities to Greek equivalents and thus adopted Greek stories about those deities (cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*).

V. Roman attitudes towards Greece and Greek culture were surprisingly ambivalent, considering the extent of their cultural borrowings.

A. On the one hand, the Greeks were looked up to as cultural models.

B. On the other hand, they were viewed with suspicion as tricky, crafty, and treacherous, as well as soft, decadent, and given to luxurious living.

C. This double view of Greece was only exacerbated by the Roman conquest of Greece in 146 BC.

Supplementary Reading:

Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, Ch. 7.

Questions to Consider:

1. The Romans' attitude toward Greek culture has often been compared to Americans' attitude toward Europe, especially Britain, earlier in this century. Does this comparison strike you as valid?
2. Can you think of any other nations that have adapted their religious narratives wholesale from another culture? If so, what was the attitude of the "borrowing" religion toward the "source" culture?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Two

From Aeneas to Romulus

Scope: Lecture Two covers two types of background material, mythic and literary. The lecture begins by giving a brief overview of two crucial aspects of the *Aeneid*'s mythological background: the Greek Trojan War story and the Roman story of Rome's foundation by Romulus. Next, the lecture discusses how the *Aeneid* integrates these two strands of legend. Finally, the lecture examines the *Aeneid*'s literary antecedents, both Greek and Latin.

Outline

I. Virgil chose to write an epic that drew upon both Greek and Roman strands of tradition. He cast it most obviously in the Greek tradition by using the Trojan War as his starting point, but altered many elements of the traditional story and brought in many elements of native Roman tradition as well.

II. The primary mythic background of the *Aeneid* is the story of the Trojan War, the most famous legend in ancient literature and the culmination of the Greek mythic past.

- **A.** The main sources of information on this war between a Greek expeditionary force and the people of Troy are the Greek epics the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.
  - **1.** These epics do not tell the full story of the war. The *Iliad* focuses on events that happened in the last year of the war, and the *Odyssey* deals with Odysseus' further adventures after the war.
  - **2.** These two epics were not the only ones to deal with the Trojan War, although they were recognized in antiquity as the greatest epics. There were other epic poems, now lost, that told the rest of the story of the Trojan War.
- **B.** Several key episodes of the Trojan War and its aftermath are contained in fifth-century Athenian tragedies, such as Euripides' *Trojan Women* and Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, dealing with the family of Agamemnon.
- **C.** Virgil and his readers had access to other sources that are no longer extant.
- **D.** The details of Aeneas' escape from Troy and his subsequent adventures were far from fixed. Virgil had great leeway to mold the story to his own specifications.
  - **1.** The idea that Aeneas founded the Roman race has its origins in *Iliad* XX, where Poseidon prophesies that Aeneas will survive the Sack of Troy and found a new city elsewhere.
  - **2.** As early as the fifth century BC, Aeneas' new city had been identified with Rome by Greek writers.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

3. Various other versions developed as Rome grew in power and importance.

III. The *Aeneid* clearly alludes to various episodes of the Trojan War that are not part of its own narrative. Virgil assumes that the reader is familiar with the following basic elements of the whole story.

A. The Judgment of Paris.
   1. At the wedding feast of Peleus and the sea-goddess Thetis (the parents of the great hero Achilles), Eris, goddess of strife, threw onto the table a golden apple inscribed "for the fairest."
   2. Juno, Minerva, and Venus each claimed the apple as her own.
   3. Jupiter appointed the Trojan prince Paris to judge among these three goddesses.
   4. Each goddess offered Paris a bribe. He chose Venus, who had promised him the most beautiful woman in the world as his wife for picking her.

B. The most beautiful woman was Helen, daughter of the great god Jupiter and wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. Paris abducted her and took her to Troy with him.

C. Under the leadership of Menelaus' older brother Agamemnon, the Greeks mustered an army to go to Troy and fight for Helen's return.

D. The war lasted ten years. In the final year of the war, the pre-eminent Trojan warrior Hector was killed by the pre-eminent Greek warrior Achilles, who was himself killed by Paris shortly thereafter.

E. Aeneas, a cousin of Hector, fought on the Trojan side. He was the son of the Trojan Anchises and the goddess Venus.

F. After the death of Achilles, the Greeks resorted to trickery to win the war. Using the famous ruse of the Trojan horse, invented by Ulysses, they infiltrated the walled city of Troy and sacked it brutally by night. The traditional date of the Sack of Troy is 1184 BC.

G. Aeneas managed to escape from the Sack of Troy, taking his son Ascanius (or Iülus) and his father Anchises with him.

H. Aeneas reached Italy, married the Italian princess Lavinia, and founded a city called Lavinium. His son founded the city Alba Longa.

IV. The Greek story of the Trojan War was not the Romans' only myth about their origins. Within their own native tradition, they had legends about the founding of the city of Rome itself by Romulus.

A. Romulus and his brother Remus were the twin sons of Rhea Silvia (granddaughter of the king of Alba Longa) and the god Mars.
   1. At birth, the boys were set adrift in a basket on the Tiber River by their wicked, usurping great-uncle.
   2. After they washed ashore, they were suckled by a she-wolf.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

3. They were then found and adopted by a shepherd, who raised them as their own.

B. After they reached adulthood, their true lineage was discovered. They restored their grandfather to the throne of Alba Longa and decided to found a new city of their own.

C. Rome was founded in 753 BC.
   1. In a quarrel over the naming of the new city, Romulus killed Remus.
   2. After founding his city, Romulus offered asylum to anyone who wished to come join him there.
   3. To procure wives for themselves, the new Romans invited their neighbors, the Sabines, to a religious festival and then abducted all the young unmarried women.

V. The *Aeneid* joins these two strands of myth—the Trojan War, imported from Greece, and the homegrown Romulus story—by assuming that the Trojan Aeneas was actually the ancestor of Romulus.

A. Thus, it is possible to see Aeneas as the founder of the Roman *people* and Romulus as the founder of Rome itself.

B. To do this, Virgil had to elide the years between 1184 BC and 743 BC and basically elide Romulus as well.

VI. Just as he combined Greek and Roman legendary material in the *Aeneid*, so Virgil also looked to both Greek and Roman literary models.

A. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the most obvious models for the *Aeneid*. Virgil draws on them not only for content, but also for style.
   1. The *Aeneid* is written in dactylic hexameter, the meter used by Homer (and Ennius).
   2. The *Aeneid* uses many of Homer's stylistic devices, such as the simile.

B. The great Greek tragedies also provided models for the *Aeneid*, most notably for Book IV.

C. The third-century BC epic *The Argonautica*, by Apollonius of Rhodes, contributed especially to the characterization of Dido (who may be modeled on Medea).

D. Virgil also drew upon the second-century BC Roman epic poet Ennius, whose *Annales* told the story of Rome from Aeneas' flight from Troy through Ennius' own day.

E. Virgil modeled several specific phrases and characterizations upon the Roman lyric poet Catullus, who died c. 54 BC.

Supplementary Reading:

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Gantz, *Early Greek Myth,* Vol. 2, Ch. 16. A very detailed account, listing all the ancient sources for each detail of the legend. See also Vol. 2, Ch. 17, pp. 713–717, on pre-Virgilian accounts of Aeneas' flight from Troy. (Note: Gantz uses the Greek spelling "Aineias.")

Lee, "Imitation and the Poetry of Virgil."

Williams, R. D. *Aeneid*, Ch. 3.

Wiseman, *Remus*. Especially Ch. 1, Ch. 4, and Appendix.

Woodford, *Trojan War in Art*, Ch. 1–2. A simple, easily readable account of the background events.

For further background on the Homeric epics, please see The Teaching Company tapes *The Iliad of Homer* and *The Odyssey of Homer*, also by Dr. Elizabeth Vandiver.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think the Romans wanted to provide a Trojan ancestor for themselves? In other words, what was the psychological and/or emotional value to Roman culture of tracing its own descent from the Trojans?
2. Roman authors obviously did not share modern views about originality and plagiarism; in fact, an author's skill in adapting and referring to earlier originals contributed a great deal to the admiration accorded that author. What does this tell you about the Romans' (and for that matter the Greeks') view of creativity and of tradition?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Three

Rome, Augustus, and Virgil

Scope: This lecture discusses the historical context in which the *Aeneid* was written by briefly examining Roman history, especially the crucial events of the late first century BC. Next, the lecture reviews the political and social reforms made by the emperor Augustus and discusses his role as a patron of poets. Finally, the lecture discusses Virgil himself, the task he set himself in writing the *Aeneid*, and his method of composition.

Outline

I. Rome was founded (according to the Romulus legend) in 753 BC. Ruled by kings in its earliest years, from about 509 BC on, it was a republic, governed by elected officials and popular assemblies.

A. The Romans were proud of their Republic's system of government, and extremely wary of anyone who seemed to want to re-establish a monarchy.

B. Under the Republic, Roman power began to expand from the city of Rome itself throughout Italy and then into other areas.

C. Rome came into its own as an international power after a series of three wars with Carthage.

1. Both Rome and Carthage were strong naval nations with vast trading interests.

2. The "Punic" wars were fought in 264–241 BC, 218–202 BC (when Hannibal led the Carthaginian forces), and 151–146 BC.

3. After the final defeat of Carthage in 146 BC, and Greece in that same year, Rome dominated the Mediterranean.

II. But while Rome was gaining external power, its internal situation was far from stable. Throughout the second and first centuries BC, Rome was plagued by a series of social upheavals, often breaking into full-scale civil war.

A. A crisis was reached with Julius Caesar's assassination on March 15, 44 BC. Caesar's assassins claimed that he had wanted to establish himself as king.

B. After Caesar's death, there was an open power struggle for many years. There were two primary contenders:

1. Marcus Antonius ("Mark Antony"), Caesar's trusted friend.

2. Octavian, Caesar's great-nephew and adopted son.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

C. Mark Antony became involved with the Egyptian queen Cleopatra, which raised fears among many Romans that he wanted to establish himself and Cleopatra as King and Queen over an empire.

D. Finally, in 31 BC, Octavian defeated the combined forces of Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium. This date is also considered the end of the Hellenistic Age.

III. With his victory at Actium, Octavian became the all-but-acknowledged sole ruler of Rome and remained so until his death in AD 14.

A. In 27 BC, Octavian was awarded the title Augustus ("the revered one"), which came to function as his name; he was also granted extensive powers of proconsular *imperium*.

B. Although historians call him the "first Roman Emperor," Augustus was scrupulous about never using any terms of kingship. He was referred to as the *princeps* (literally, "first citizen") and the *imperator* (literally, "commander," or "person who holds *imperium*").

C. He was also very careful to restore and preserve the appearances of the old Republican form of government.

IV. Augustus set out not only to return Roman government to (at least the appearance) of its old form, but also to restore Roman morals and customs to the *mores maiorum*, "the ways or customs of the ancestors."

A. This included re-establishing old-style religious ceremonies and reverence for the gods.

1. Augustus renewed many religious rites that had ceased to be observed.
2. He restored many of Rome's temples.

B. Augustus also wanted to re-establish old-style domestic simplicity and morality.

1. His own house, dress, and meals were remarkable for their frugality and plainness.
2. In 18 BC, Augustus passed laws regulating marriage, making adultery a criminal offense, and encouraging couples to have children. These laws are often called Augustus' "moral " or "social reforms."

V. Augustus was also a patron of the arts, including poetry. During his reign, Roman literature entered its "Golden Age."

A. Augustus' patronage of poets was not direct; rather, his close friend Maecenas provided financial support for various poets and served as the link between those poets and Augustus.

B. The frequent statement that Augustus "commissioned" Virgil to write *Aeneid* is misleading, since patronage never functioned on a basis of set payment for a specific work.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

VI. The *Aeneid* is Rome's great national epic, celebrating not only the mythical past but also the Augustan present. To write such an epic, set in the distant, mythical past but looking forward to the current state of Rome, was a new and vast undertaking.

A. Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro, 70–19 BC) was an experienced poet, but had not written epic before.

1. His first work, the *Eclogues*, was a collection of ten bucolic poems, which included many references to current events and concerns. It was probably published around 38 BC.

2. His second work, the *Georgics*, was completed after 29 BC. It was written after Virgil had begun his association with Maecenas, to whom the work is dedicated. The *Georgics* deal with agriculture and exalt the old-fashioned virtues dear to Augustus.

3. Virgil talks of writing an epic in the *Eclogues*; in the *Georgics*, he indicates that he will write one soon.

B. Our ancient sources tell us that Virgil worked very slowly on the *Aeneid*, starting with a prose draft. We have no contemporary accounts about Virgil's method of writing, but three later writers preserve traditions about him that most scholars accept as valid.

1. Donatus, the most influential grammarian of the fourth century AD, wrote a commentary on Virgil. Most of this commentary is no longer extant, but the dedicatory epistle, a brief "Life" of Virgil, and the introduction to the section on the *Eclogues* have survived.

2. Another fourth-century grammarian, Servius, wrote a commentary largely based on Donatus' work. Servius' commentary survives in two different versions.

3. In the fifth century AD, Macrobius wrote a work called *Saturnalia*, which contains a great deal of material on Virgil.

C. The *Aeneid* was incomplete when Virgil died in 19 BC.

1. The tradition tells us that Virgil asked on his deathbed that the *Aeneid* manuscript be burned.

2. Augustus forbade the burning of the manuscript. Two friends of Virgil's, Varius and Tucca, emended the *Aeneid* for publication, but did not add anything to it.

3. The unfinished state of the *Aeneid* is clearly indicated by the presence in it of half-lines (i.e., incomplete hexameters) and of some inconsistencies in plot.

4. The overall outline is there in the work we have; it is doubtful there would have been, for example, additional books. It is the details here and there that are incomplete.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Supplementary Reading:

Griffin, *Virgil*, Ch. 4, pp. 58–77 (end of first paragraph).

Lyne, "Augustan Poetry and Society."

Stockton, "The Founding of the Empire."

Williams, R. D. *Aeneid*, Ch. 4.

For additional background on the history of Rome, we suggest The Teaching Company's tape series *The History of Ancient Rome* by Professor Garrett Fagan of The Pennsylvania State University.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think Virgil chose not to write an epic about recent events and Augustus himself? What is gained by the setting in the remote, mythological past?
2. Why would a return to old-style morality and values have seemed so appealing to Augustus (and presumably to his supporters) in the 20s BC?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Four

The Opening of the *Aeneid*

Scope: In this lecture, we turn to discussing the *Aeneid* itself, focusing on Book I. The lecture begins by pointing out how the *Aeneid*'s proem stresses both its debt to and its difference from Homer. We then move on to consider several of the crucial concepts and characters introduced in Book I. We will also consider how the *Aeneid*'s opening scenes foreground and highlight the overarching themes of the epic, such as the necessity and inevitability of Rome's foundation, the anger of Juno, Aeneas as a man marked out by fate, and especially the concept of *pietas* or duty.

Outline

I. The *Aeneid* makes both its debt to Homer and its difference from Homer obvious in its proem (the first eleven lines of the epic).

A. The first words, *Arma virumque cano* ("I sing of arms and a man"), recall both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

1. The *Iliad* concentrates on warfare.

2. The *Odyssey* concentrates on the adventures of one man.

B. The *Aeneid* is rooted in subsequent history in a way completely foreign to the Homeric epics.

1. Certain Athenian families in the classical age traced their descent to Homeric heroes, but the epics were formed before Athens became a major power. Thus, the families accommodated themselves to the stories of their "ancestors," not vice versa.

2. The *Aeneid* was written in the Augustan age, to provide a mythological background and explanation for Rome's subsequent development. It was written with hindsight.

C. The *Aeneid*'s larger goal is stressed from the very beginning; Aeneas is fated to found the Roman people, and this epic is as much about the inevitability of Rome as it is about Aeneas.

1. While fate plays an important role in both Homeric epics, it is fate looked at from the individual's (or sometimes the city of Troy's) point of view.

2. Aeneas' fate is constantly and consistently pictured as leading to the founding of Rome; his individual destiny is in service to the greater goal of his society.

D. It is clear from the very opening of the *Aeneid* that Virgil is working in a different tradition from Homer.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

E. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the culminations of a centuries-long oral tradition; we do not know exactly when, where, why, or how they came to be written down.

F. The *Aeneid's* opening lines reflect its status as the work of one author, not of a tradition; Virgil announces his subject in the first-person singular ("I sing") where Homer invokes the Muse.

II. The proem and the entire first book of the *Aeneid* set up and stress several key themes. These include crucial concepts, often conveyed in Latin terms that are difficult to translate precisely; the treatment of the gods (especially Juno, Venus, and Jupiter); and the character of Aeneas himself.

A. Many key themes are evident in the proem, the first eleven lines of the *Aeneid*. The proem establishes that Aeneas' adventures are due to fate, that Rome is inevitable, and that Aeneas is distinguished for his *pietas*.

1. Throughout the *Aeneid*, the outcome of events is established not only by human and divine actions, but also by Fate, *fatum* (or, in the plural, *fata*).

2. Aeneas is characterized as a "man noted for *pietas*" in line 10. This term requires definition, since it and the related adjective *pius* are used to define Aeneas' essential character throughout the epic.

3. These terms are often translated with the derivatives "piety" and "pious." These, however, are inadequate; *pietas* refers to one's duty and proper behavior toward all those to whom duty is owed.

B. Rome's inevitability and its cost are stressed in line 33, which says it was a great *molis* (burden, weight, heavy undertaking) to found the Roman people.

III. The characters of three key gods are also delineated in Book I.

A. Juno is implacably angry at the Trojans for several reasons.

1. She is angry over the Judgment of Paris.

2. She hates the whole Trojan people, because the city was founded by Dardanus, an illegitimate son of Jupiter.

3. She hates the royal family in particular, because Zeus abducted the Trojan prince Ganymede to be his paramour and cupbearer.

4. She loves Carthage, which she knows will come into conflict with Rome eventually.

B. Venus is concerned for her son Aeneas and tries to help him, by appealing to Jupiter, by direct interaction with Aeneas, and by manipulating Dido.

1. Venus appeals to Jupiter on Aeneas' behalf, reminding him that he has promised that Romans will rule land and sea and that other Trojans have escaped and settled in new lands.

2. Venus appears in disguise to Aeneas shortly after he has made landfall in Africa, tells him to seek help from Dido, and informs him that twelve of his lost ships survived the storm; only one was

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

lost. As she leaves, he recognizes her and calls after her in reproach for her disguise.

C. Jupiter's answer to Venus concerning Aeneas establishes him as in some sense the arbiter of fate and reasserts the inevitability of Rome's power.
   1. Jupiter's words seem to imply that "fate" and what he has decreed are more or less the same thing.
   2. He declares that he "has given" the Romans power without limit (*imperium sine fine*).
   3. He prophesies the advent of a descendant of Venus who will bring power and peace to Rome, a "Trojan Caesar" named Julius (this most likely refers to Augustus).
   4. This Caesar will shut "unholy Rage" (*Furor impius*) up inside the closed gates of the temple of war. The phrase *furor impius* underlines one of the great conflicts of the *Aeneid*, between *furor* (rage, or passion) and *pietas* (proper, dutiful behavior).

IV. The first book also establishes a great deal about the character of Aeneas himself, especially in his first two speeches.

A. Aeneas' first speech, during the storm sent by Juno, presents him as a private individual.
   1. This speech, Aeneas' first words in the *Aeneid*, sets up a direct comparison with the *Odyssey* and a speech in which Odysseus was solitary and wrecked at sea.
   2. The private Aeneas is anguished and longing for home.

B. Aeneas' second speech is delivered to his comrades after the storm has scattered their fleet.
   1. Seven ships managed to stay together and land on the coast of Africa; at this point, Aeneas and his comrades assume their other thirteen ships are lost.
   2. The public Aeneas encourages and heartens his men and reminds them of their destiny.

C. This tension between Aeneas' private and public sides continues throughout the epic and is essential for our understanding of several key passages.

V. Aeneas' arrival in Carthage combines the two themes of yearning for the past and his careful attention to the future.

A. In Juno's temple, Aeneas sees a series of panels depicting the Trojan war.
   1. This brings him hope that he has arrived in a civilized land.
   2. He is to some extent comforted by the fact that the story of Troy is not lost.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

B. After Dido's arrival, Aeneas waits until he is certain that she will be favorable before revealing himself to her. Once again, he is a cautious leader.

VI. Finally, the first book introduces the Carthaginian queen Dido. Her reception of the Trojans and of Aeneas shows that she is both a gracious and hospitable host and a powerful and good leader.

A. Dido is gracious and helpful, even before Aeneas reveals himself

B. She is well disposed to Aeneas.

C. Dido's passion for Aeneas is caused by a direct intervention of Venus, who sends Cupid in disguise as Ascanius to force Dido to fall in love with Aeneas.

Essential Reading:

Aeneid, Book I.

Supplementary Reading:

Griffin, *Virgil*, Ch. 4.

Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, Part II, Ch. 2, Section II, pp. 235–250.

Questions to Consider:

1. What impact does our first view of Aeneas, as a despairing "private" individual, have on our view of the overall tone of the poem? Would it make any difference if we met the "public" Aeneas first?
2. Does modern American culture have any concept or group of concepts analogous to *pietas*?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Five

From Troy to Carthage

Scope: This lecture looks at Aeneas' first-person narrative, in Books II and III, of the fall of Troy and his subsequent wanderings. We focus on Book II, the fullest account of the Sack of Troy that has survived from ancient literature. The lecture begins by noting, once again, the similarities and differences of Books II and III to their Homeric model. It then considers how Aeneas' narratives of the gods' involvement in the Sack of Troy and of the prophecies he receives on his journey underline and reiterate his destined role as the ultimate founder of the Roman people.

Outline

I. Book II, Aeneas' own first-person narrative of the Trojan horse and the Sack of Troy, is the fullest extant account of these events. Book III, still in first-person narrative, recounts his subsequent wanderings. This section of the *Aeneid* is clearly based on *Odyssey* IX–XII, in which Odysseus narrates his adventures.

- **A.** The two heroes narrate their stories in closely parallel circumstances.
  - **1.** Each one is in the court of a friendly monarch who will offer him assistance.
  - **2.** In both versions, there is an implicit offer of marriage and a home in that country given the hero.
  - **3.** The hero's visit has disastrous consequences for his hosts.
- **B.** The content of the two stories corresponds in many details.
  - **1.** Each hero begins his narrative at Troy and ends it with his arrival in the court of the host to whom he is speaking.
  - **2.** Aeneas even recounts visits to some of the same places that Odysseus visited.
- **C.** There are also differences, both of content and of tone.
  - **1.** Odysseus' narrative focuses on his own cleverness and skill in avoiding death; Aeneas' focuses on the sorrows he has endured and the necessity imposed on him by fate.
  - **2.** Odysseus' story begins after the fall of Troy, while Book II is almost entirely given over to Aeneas' description of the sack.
  - **3.** Odysseus looks forward to a homecoming; Aeneas, an exile, seeks a new home.
  - **4.** These differences reiterate that while Aeneas in many ways retraces Odysseus' steps, this is not simply a Roman *Odyssey*; the focus is on Aeneas' destiny as the ancestor of the Roman people, not on his adventures as an individual hero.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

II. After building the wooden horse and filling it with their best warriors, the Greeks leave it in front of the Trojan gates and sail to the island of Tenedos (where their ships could not be seen from Troy).

A. The Trojans assume that the Greeks have gone for good and react with joy.

B. They are astonished by the horse and unsure what to do with it; some think it should be taken inside the city, while others think it should be destroyed.

C. Laocoön, priest of Neptune, advises against accepting the horse, saying "I fear the Greeks, even when bearing gifts."

D. Aeneas comments that Laocoön would have persuaded them "if the fates of the gods and our minds had not been against it." This is an example of the "double motivation" that is so crucial throughout the *Aeneid*; the events are motivated *both* by the will of the gods *and* by human actions or failings.

III. While the Trojans discuss the horse, shepherds bring a Greek captive, Sinon, to King Priam.

A. Sinon tells a lying story that persuades the Trojans to take the horse into their city. According to Sinon:

1. The Greeks received an oracle from Apollo demanding a human sacrifice. Because Ulysses hated Sinon he was chosen as the victim, but escaped and hid until the Greeks sailed away.

2. The Greeks have returned home to try to regain their gods' favor there and to get reinforcements.

3. The horse is an offering to Pallas Athena (Minerva), to recompense her for the Greeks' theft of her statue, the Palladium, during a raid into Troy during the war. The horse was made so large to ensure that the Trojans could not take it inside the city.

B. Sinon's lies persuade the Trojans. They believe him because they themselves are honest; they pity him because they are compassionate. Their downfall is thus caused by their *good* qualities.

C. The Trojans are further motivated to believe Sinon by the fate of Laocoön, who is killed together with his two sons by two snakes that swim out of the sea and crush them. Their death is an omen (which, however, the Trojans misinterpret).

IV. The Trojans break down their walls around the gates to take the horse into the city. At night the Greeks come out of the horse, let their comrades who have sailed back from Tenedos into the city, and begin the Sack of Troy.

A. The ghost of Hector appears to Aeneas in a dream and tells him that Troy's end has come. Hector advises Aeneas to flee, taking his family and the household gods of Troy, the Penates (actually Roman household gods), with him.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

B. Aeneas rushes onto his roof, sees that the city is burning, snatches up his weapons, and runs out into the streets. He is joined by several young Trojan men; they fight valiantly but are outnumbered.

V. Aeneas describes several horrifying scenes, his encounter with Helen, and Venus' appearance to him.

A. Aeneas sees Cassandra being dragged from Minerva's temple with her hands chained; the Greeks storming the royal palace, where Priam puts on his armor and Hecuba begs him to take refuge at the household altar; and the murder first of Priam's young son Polites and then of Priam himself by Achilles' son Pyrrhus.

B. Aeneas sees Helen and considers killing her, but his mother Venus appears to him and stops him.

1. Venus reminds Aeneas of his own family and their danger.

2. She tells him that Helen and Paris are not to blame, but that the gods are responsible for Troy's destruction.

C. Venus "tears away the clouds" that normally veil mortal sight and shows Aeneas the gods themselves destroying the city. This emphasizes the inevitability of the fall of Troy.

VI. Aeneas finds his family and leaves the city. He takes his father Anchises on his shoulders, while Anchises himself carries the images of the Penates; Aeneas leads his son Iülus by the hand. His wife Creusa follows behind.

A. At first Anchises refuses to go. Aeneas will not leave without his father (thus showing *pietas*) and prepares to go back into battle, despite Creusa's pleas.

B. Suddenly, a flame crowns the young Iülus. Anchises accepts the omen of future kingship for his descendants and agrees to leave Troy.

C. Metaphorically, during the flight from Troy, Aeneas is carrying the past and leading the future.

D. Creusa is lost; when Aeneas goes back to look for her, her ghost appears to him and tells him that he will marry a royal bride in his future homeland. We need to remember that Aeneas is narrating this to the widowed queen, Dido.

VII. Book III continues the story of Aeneas' wanderings and recapitulates many of Odysseus' adventures. There are several important details to note.

A. The Trojans land at Delos, Apollo's sacred island, where the god prophesies that they must seek the land of their ancestors, "your ancient mother," and that Aeneas' descendants will rule there.

1. Anchises interprets this to mean Crete; but when they sail to Crete and found a city there, the city is struck by a plague.

2. The Trojan Penates appear to Aeneas in a dream and tell him that the land Apollo meant was Italy, not Crete. Anchises remembers that Cassandra had prophesied this as well.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

B. They land on the Harpies' island, and are driven away, but the harpy Celaeno reiterates that their goal is Italy. She also prophesies that hunger will drive them to eat their tables.

C. They arrive in Epirus, where they encounter Helenus and Andromache, who have built a new Troy. Helenus prophesies for them too.

1. They will know the site of their new city when they find a white sow with thirty piglets.

2. They must try to appease Juno.

3. They must visit the Cumaean Sibyl, a prophetess of Apollo.

D. The Trojans stop next in Sicily, which Virgil identifies with the land of the Cyclops Polyphemus.

1. There they rescue Achaemenides, left behind by Ulysses a few months previously.

2. Anchises dies in Sicily

E. Aeneas ends his narrative with their arrival in Carthage.

Essential Reading:

Aeneid, Books II and III.

Supplementary Reading:

Gransden, "The Fall of Troy."

Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, Part I, Ch. 1 and 2.

Lynch, "Laocoön and Sinon."

Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid*, Ch. 3.

Questions to Consider:

1. In Books II and III, Aeneas is speaking to Dido. How would his story of the loss of Creusa affect Dido?

2. Why do you think Virgil chose to make Aeneas follow Odysseus' journey so closely, while at the same time adding details (such as the abandonment of Achaemenides) that are not in Homer? What impression does this give us of Odysseus? Of Aeneas?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Six

Unhappy Dido

Scope: This lecture discusses Book IV of the *Aeneid*, which narrates the unhappy love affair of Aeneas and Dido. We consider the structure of the book, Virgil's presentation of the two characters involved, and the great (and unresolved) critical question of how we are supposed to interpret Aeneas' actions in this section of the *Aeneid*.

Outline

I. The affair between Dido and Aeneas was apparently Virgil's own creation. Book IV, in which this affair is narrated, is the shortest book of the *Aeneid* and in many readers' minds, also one of the most memorable and troubling.

- **A.** The book falls easily into three sections, each beginning with the words "But the queen… " (*at regina*), followed by a word that sets the section's tone.
  - **1.** Lines 1–295 narrate the affair's beginning; the key word is *gravi* ("serious").
  - **2.** Lines 296–503 show the lovers' alienation; the key word is *dolos* ("tricks, deceits").
  - **3.** Lines 504–705 take the story to its end with Aeneas' departure and Dido's suicide; the key word is *pyra* ("pyre").
- **B.** Book IV has been described as reminiscent of a Greek tragedy, focusing on Dido's rage, pain, and suicide. In fact, Virgil alludes directly to specific Greek tragic plays in this book of his epic.
- **C.** It has given rise to diametrically opposed interpretations, depending primarily on whether one thinks Aeneas should be read as a sympathetic character here or not.

II. To examine and untangle some of these threads, we will look at the events in some detail.

- **A.** The liaison between Dido and Aeneas is planned by Venus and abetted by Juno; Dido is not a free agent in choosing this affair.
  - **1.** In Book I, Venus sends Cupid to enflame Dido's heart with passion for Aeneas.
  - **2.** In Book IV, we're told that Dido has fought against her passion, but begins to weaken, especially at the advice of her sister Anna.
- **B.** Dido's dilemma is caused by her own integrity; after her husband Sychaeus' death, she swore not to remarry.
  - **1.** Thus, any liaison with Aeneas, whether marriage or affair, will involve some sacrifice of her integrity.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

2. The lack of any good choice for Dido is reflected in her most common epithet, *infelix* (unhappy, unlucky, ill-fated).

C. The affair begins when, because of Juno's and Venus' machinations, Dido and Aeneas retreat into the same cave during a storm.
1. Virgil uses marriage terminology and imagery in describing this scene.
2. However, he quickly makes it clear that the "marriage" exists only in Dido's perception by saying that Dido hides her fault (*culpa*) by calling it marriage.

III. Rumors begin to circulate around the city, and Dido's rejected suitor Iarbas calls Jupiter's attention to the liaison. Jupiter sends Mercury to recall Aeneas to his duty.

A. Iarbas, we are told, is the son of a nymph whom Jupiter raped. This detail stresses the gulf between the divine and the human plane; Jupiter's violent expression of his sexuality has no adverse consequences for him, while Aeneas' much more humane relationship with Dido is catastrophic for her and potentially catastrophic for Aeneas.

B. Mercury finds Aeneas supervising the workers on a building site; he is dressed as a king.

C. When Mercury reminds Aeneas of his destiny, Aeneas abruptly realizes that he must leave.

D. Dido hears the rumor of the departure before Aeneas tells her and confronts him. Aeneas tries to deflect her anger and arguments by citing his fated destiny.

IV. Critical opinion divides over how we should interpret both Dido and Aeneas in this book.

A. Is Dido entirely innocent?
1. She had made a vow never to remarry.
2. She allows herself to be persuaded by her sister Anna; is her first loss of integrity disguising her passion as political necessity?
3. Again, Virgil tells us that they are *not* married when he says she tries to hide her guilt (*culpa*) by calling it marriage.
4. We can draw parallels between Dido and another African queen, Cleopatra, and understand how Virgil's contemporary audience would have perceived this scene and its political ramifications.

B. Can Dido be considered blameworthy?
1. Her passion is imposed upon her externally by Venus (in concert with Juno).
2. It can be argued that as a queen she has a duty to marry and provide an heir.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

3. Remarrying is not a crime; as for her broken vow, surely her punishment is excessive.

C. Is Aeneas justified in his cold response to her?
   1. He says that he never even hinted at marriage with her.
   2. He told her of his destiny, to go to Italy, when he narrated his story to her; therefore, she had no basis to think he would stay in Carthage permanently.
   3. Aeneas has not just suddenly decided on his own accord to leave; Mercury reminded him of his destiny and his duty.
   4. The apparent coldness of Aeneas' response can be read as the reassertion of *pietas* over *furor* (in the sense of sexual passion).

V. There are two separate issues that should be distinguished: our view of Aeneas and Dido's view of Aeneas.

A. With the benefit of Virgil's commentary, we can (perhaps) see Aeneas as pitiable, too; he is acting against his own will and inclinations.
   1. Virgil says that Aeneas wanted to comfort Dido, but nevertheless carried out the gods' commands.
   2. Depending on how one interprets a very ambiguous line, Aeneas perhaps weeps for Dido.
   3. When he tells her he is leaving, he also says that it is not of his own free will.

B. From Dido's point of view, however, he is wholly despicable. Although it is true that he is fated to go to Italy, his manner and method of telling her he is leaving seem brutally callous to her.
   1. He appears to be planning to sneak away.
   2. He makes no emotional response to her very moving pleas; rather, he simply states that they were never married.
   3. He does remind her that he is not acting of his own free will, but he also says that had it been up to him, he would never have left Troy.

VI. Dido is our first main example of the cost of Rome for those Aeneas meets, the people who must get out of the way so that Rome can come into being.

A. She kills herself out of anger and shame at Aeneas' actions.

B. She also calls down a curse on Aeneas and his descendents, hoping for an avenger to arise from her ashes. This clearly refers to the historical enmity between Rome and Carthage. The "avenger" might be seen, in hindsight, to be Hannibal Barca, the great Carthaginian general of the Second Punic War (218–202 BC), who invaded Italy.

Essential Reading:

Aeneid, Book IV.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Supplementary Reading:

Keith, Alison, "*Tandem venit amor*."

Lyne, *Further Voices*, Ch. 4, Section 5 ("Aeneas and Dido").

Moles, "Aristotle and Dido's *Hamartia*."

Rudd, "Dido's *Culpa*."

Questions to Consider:

1. How do you read Aeneas' character in Book IV? Does he strike you as brutally callous, genuinely anguished but bound by his destiny, or as somewhere between those two poles?
2. Is Dido blameworthy, given that her passion for Aeneas was caused by Juno and Venus?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Seven

Funeral Games and a Journey to the Dead

Scope: In this lecture we follow Aeneas as he leaves Carthage and returns to Sicily. We discuss how Book V provides an interlude between the intense emotions of Book IV and Book VI and how, in its description of the funeral games held for Anchises, it also reiterates the themes of the Trojan past and the Roman future. The lecture then turns to the beginning of Book VI, in which Aeneas will undertake his journey to the land of the dead. We see him begin that journey with the assistance of the Cumaean Sibyl. The lecture ends with Aeneas' and the Sibyl's crossing of the River Styx into the Underworld proper.

Outline

I. In Book V, Aeneas returns to Sicily where he is welcomed by King Acestes. Aeneas arrives there on the anniversary of Anchises' death and holds athletic (funeral) games in honor of Anchises.

- **A.** These games provides an interlude between the intense emotion of Dido's and Aeneas' parting in Book IV and the equally intense emotion of Aeneas' visit to the Underworld in Book VI.
- **B.** There is a slow diminishing of tension through the athletic games, culminating in a serene and hopeful mood, filled with optimism for the future, in the equestrian games of Ascanius and the other boys.
  1. These games are modeled on the funeral games of Patroklos in the *Iliad.*
  2. They are also a part of a tradition that was well understood by Virgil's Roman audience, with their obvious relation to the *lusus Troiae* or "Trojan games" instituted by Augustus.
  3. Once again, the symbolic functions of Anchises and Ascanius are underlined (as they were when Aeneas carried Anchises and led Ascanius from Troy: Anchises equals the [Trojan] past; Ascanius equals the [Roman] future).

II. After the games, Aeneas' fortune shifts.

- **A.** Juno sends Iris to stir up trouble among the Trojan women.
- **B.** Exhausted and frightened, the women are persuaded by Iris (disguised as the old woman Beroë) to burn the ships to prevent further wandering. Ascanius tries to stop them, but it is Jupiter's intervention that saves the ships.
- **C.** Aeneas is so devastated by the women's actions that he is unsure whether he should continue or not, even when the prophet Nautes advises him to.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

1. That night, Aeneas sees a vision of Anchises, which tells him to obey Nautes and, crucially, tells him that when he reaches Italy he must seek out the Cumaean Sibyl and visit the Underworld to see Anchises there. This reinforces the admonition of Helenus from earlier in the story.
2. Fortified by his vision of his father, Aeneas lets the aged Trojans stay behind.

D. In effect, each Trojan individually faces the question of whether to stay with the past (literally, with the buried Anchises) or to go on to the future (with the young Ascanius).
1. The women and some of the men choose to stay.
2. Just as Aeneas "got rid of" his wife, he disposes of the Trojan women as he pursues his destiny of founding the Roman race.

III. Book V culminates with another conversation between Venus and Jupiter. Venus is concerned about Juno's continuing hatred, but Jupiter promises her that she will have to mourn the death of "only one" Trojan.

A. This refers to the pilot of Aeneas' ship, Palinurus. Forced to fall asleep by the god Sleep himself, Palinurus falls overboard and is drowned.

B. This episode recalls the death of Elpenor in the *Odyssey*, but dignifies it; unlike Elpenor, Palinurus is not drunk and careless, but is trying his best to perform his duty.

C. Aeneas will meet Palinurus in the Underworld, just as Odysseus did Elpenor.

IV. Book VI is the central book of the *Aeneid*, its turning point, and in some ways the most important book of the epic. The emphasis is on Aeneas' trip to the Underworld and not his actual landing in Italy. This trip to the Underworld is modeled on *Odyssey* XI, but with significant differences.

A. Odysseus needs to consult the soul of the prophet Teiresias for information about how he may reach home safely; Aeneas needs to see his own father to learn about his descendants' future.

B. Odysseus does not actually descend into the Underworld; rather, the ghosts come out to speak to him. Aeneas enters the Underworld bodily.

C. Odysseus is told how to reach the Underworld by Circe, but is not guided there. Aeneas is accompanied by the Cumaean Sibyl, a major character in Book VI.
1. She prophesies Aeneas' future in Italy—one of wars, strife, misery, etc., not exactly an auspicious start.
2. She tells him that he must pluck the golden bough to enter the Underworld.

D. The location of the entrance to the Underworld is left very vague in the *Odyssey*, but is somewhere beyond the straits of Gibraltar; in the

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Aeneid, it is located with great specificity, in Italy, near Lake Avernus in the vicinity of Naples.

E. Odysseus' journey to the Underworld is part of his first-person narrative. Aeneas' journey is described by the epic's narrator.

V. Aeneas' entry to the Underworld is delayed by the necessity of burying his companion Misenus first. Once Misenus is buried, Aeneas and the Sibyl enter the cavern that leads to the Underworld.

A. The entrance is guarded by personifications of various evils and by mythological monsters.

B. To cross into the Underworld itself, Aeneas must be ferried across the River Styx by the ferryman Charon.

C. Aeneas meets and speaks to the ghost of Palinurus, who cannot cross Styx because he is unburied.

D. Charon objects to ferrying a living man across, but does so after the Sibyl shows him the golden bough.

Essential Reading:

Aeneid, Books V and VI.

Supplementary Reading:

Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, Part I, Ch. 4.

West, "The Bough and the Gate."

Questions to Consider:

1. Why does Juno incite the Trojan women to burn their ships? Is she still angry for the same reasons mentioned in Book I, or does she have an added motivation?
2. What is the significance of Aeneas' journey to the Underworld? Is Virgil simply recapitulating the *Odyssey* here—Odysseus visits the dead, so Aeneas must also—or is there a deeper significance to the episode?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Eight

Italy and the Future

Scope: This lecture, which continues our examination of Aeneas' journey to the Underworld, discusses the encounters he has there with Dido, Deiphobus, and most important, with his father Anchises. The lecture considers the thematic importance of the "Pageant of Roman Heroes" seen by Anchises and Aeneas and discusses the critical problems associated with the end of Book VI and the two gates of sleep. The lecture then turns to Books VII and VIII, which narrate Aeneas' arrival in Latium and the beginnings of his war with the Latins. We consider Book VII's function as a "second beginning" for the *Aeneid*. We will also examine how Book VIII reiterates our sense of Aeneas' divinely sanctioned mission through the epiphany of the river god Tiber and its description of Aeneas' great shield, forged by Vulcan. The lecture also discusses the introduction of several crucial characters (Latinus, Amata, Turnus, Lavinia, Evander, and Pallas) into the narrative.

Outline

I. Book VI continues with Aeneas' journey through the Underworld itself, beyond the Styx. Virgil gives a whole topography of the Underworld that is unlike anything in the *Odyssey*.

A. The first region is the Fields of Mourning (*Lugentes Campi*), where the souls of those who died for love and those who committed suicide reside.

1. Here Aeneas meets the ghost of Dido, who refuses to speak to him.

2. This encounter recalls Odysseus' meeting with the ghost of Ajax the Greater.

B. Next is the region of the spirits renowned in war.

1. Aeneas speaks to the Trojan prince Deiphobus, who had married Helen after Paris' death. He recounts how Helen betrayed him to the Greeks during the Sack of Troy. Deiphobus was tortured by the Greeks and appears horribly mutilated.

2. This recalls Agamemnon's description in the *Odyssey* of his murder by his wife Clytaemestra.

C. Past this region the road divides into two forks; the left leads down to Tartaros, where criminals are punished, and the right, to Elysium, where the blessed receive their reward. Aeneas and the Sibyl pass Tartaros and travel on to the "Blessed Groves," or Elysium. There they meet the soul of Anchises.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

II. Aeneas' encounter with his father Anchises is loosely based on Odysseus' encounters with his mother and with Teiresias, but its length and overall thematic significance for the *Aeneid* have no analogue in the *Odyssey*.

A. When we first see Anchises, Virgil says that he is contemplating the souls of his future descendents.

B. Anchises gives a long disquisition on reincarnation, and then begins to show Aeneas all the souls who will be born as famous Romans.

C. This culminating point of Book VI, the so-called "Pageant of Heroes," has two main functions.

1. It reaffirms Aeneas' purpose by showing him his heirs.
2. It reminds Virgil's audience of the major events of Roman history.

D. The "Pageant of Heroes" contains two of the most famous passages in the *Aeneid*.

1. The first of these is Anchises' programmatic statement about Roman skills and virtues.
2. The second is the lament for Augustus' young nephew Marcellus. This passage ends Anchises' speech and the Pageant of Heroes.

E. The end of Book VI contains one of the most discussed passages in the *Aeneid*. The main issue is what exactly we are meant to understand from Virgil's description of the two "gates of sleep" and his statement that Aeneas exits through the gate of false dreams.

III. In Book VII, the *Aeneid* changes course; this new beginning is marked by a new invocation to the Muses.

A. The first six books of the *Aeneid* are often referred to as the "Odyssean" part of the epic and the final six, as the "Iliadic" part.

1. This is oversimplified but has some validity.
2. Certainly the first half concentrates on wanderings and the second half, on war.

B. Most modern readers strongly prefer the first half of the *Aeneid* to the second. Ancient critics had the opposite opinion, however.

C. Virgil himself describes the second half of the *Aeneid* as a "greater theme" and a "greater labor" in his invocation of the Muse Erato.

1. The story is now on "home territory"; for Virgil and his original readers, the second half of the *Aeneid* is full of references to local towns, customs, legends, etc., that modern readers inevitably miss.
2. The story is "closer to home" on a more metaphorical level, as well; in the second half of the *Aeneid*, we see noble adversaries falling into bitter war, which is undoubtedly reminiscent of the wars leading up to Augustus' ascension.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

IV. Book VII balances Book I and serves as a fitting "second beginning" for the poem. There are two especially important thematic correspondences.

A. Just as Aeneas was received graciously by a local ruler, Dido, in Book I, so in Book VII he is received by Latinus, king of Latium.

1. Latinus and his wife Amata have only one child, Lavinia. She is betrothed to Turnus, leader of the Rutulians.

2. Latinus has received a prophecy warning him that Lavinia must not marry Turnus; however, she is destined instead for a stranger who will come to Latium.

3. Latinus recognizes Aeneas as this stranger and offers him Lavinia's hand.

4. This is the cause of the war between the Latins and the Trojans. Just as Aeneas' non-marriage with Dido brought destruction to her, so his intended marriage with Lavinia will bring grief and destruction upon Latinus.

B. In Book VII, Juno once again solicits the help of a minor divinity, as she did with Aeolus in Book I. This time she sends the Fury, Allecto, to madden Amata and Turnus.

1. Turnus begins to ready his troops and summon his allies for war.

2. The actual cause of the war is utterly trivial: Ascanius shoots a deer that is a pet of Silvia, daughter of Latinus' gamekeeper Tyrrhus.

C. Book VII ends with a description of the mustering of Turnus' allies.

V. Book VIII begins with an epiphany of the river god Tiber to the sleeping Aeneas.

A. In a dream, this river god prophesies Aeneas' long-term success.

1. The god tells Aeneas of a sign that will indicate the truth of his dream: Aeneas will find a white sow on the banks of the river, with a litter of thirty piglets.

2. The god also tells Aeneas to seek the help of Evander and the Arcadians who live in nearby Pallanteum.

3. He concludes by telling Aeneas to appease Juno through prayers and sacrifices.

B. Aeneas finds the sow and piglets and sacrifices them to Juno.

C. The Tiber carries Aeneas to Pallanteum.

VI. Aeneas' visit to Evander introduces the character Pallas into the epic and introduces Aeneas to the future site of Rome.

A. As Aeneas' ship draws near, Evander's young son Pallas challenges them to identify themselves and, upon hearing that they are Trojans, welcomes them.

B. Evander gives Aeneas a tour of Pallanteum, in which Aeneas is taken by all the most important sites of the future Rome.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

C. Evander provides soldiers for Aeneas and entrusts Pallas to his care. As they embark, Evander prays fervently for Pallas' safety.

VII. Book VIII closes with a description of the magnificent shield that Vulcan forges for Aeneas at Venus' request.

A. This book thus opens and closes with divine reiteration of Aeneas' mission and destined success. Tiber's words at the beginning of the book are balanced by the description of shield at the end.

B. Aeneas' shield recalls Achilles' shield in the *Iliad*, but the scenes on it are specific, not generic.

1. The shield shows scenes from Roman history, starting with Ascanius' descendants and moving on to Augustus' day.

2. The centerpiece of the shield is a depiction of the Battle of Actium and its aftermath.

3. Aeneas does not know what the scenes represent, but rejoices in them nonetheless.

Essential Reading:

Aeneid, Books VII and VIII.

Supplementary Reading:

Lyne, *Further Voices*, Ch. 4, Section 6 ("Creusa and Dido Again: The 'Too Late' Phenomenon").

Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid*, Ch. 5.

Questions to Consider:

1. Is the "Pageant of Heroes" an effective way for Virgil to praise Augustus (and lament Marcellus)? Do you find the idea of Aeneas and Anchises both rejoicing and mourning over these souls credible or is it too forced?
2. Why do *you* think Aeneas leaves the Underworld through the Gate of Ivory?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Nine

Virgil's *Iliad*

Scope: This lecture examines the most "Iliadic" section of the *Aeneid*, Books IX and X. The lecture looks closely at the scenes depicting the deaths of the friends Nisus and Euryalus and discusses how they are in some sense a doublet for Aeneas and Pallas. It then moves on to consider Turnus' *aristeia* (or scene of special valor), which culminates in his slaying of Pallas. The lecture discusses how Pallas' death inspires Aeneas with *furor*. Finally, we consider Aeneas' killing of Lausus and his father Mezentius.

Outline

I. Book IX begins by directing the reader's attention back to the Trojan camp in Aeneas' absence.

A. Turnus and his men attack the Trojan camp and set fire to the ships.

1. Once again, Juno is the instigator; she sends Iris to tell Turnus that Aeneas is visiting Evander.

2. The attack on the ship has strong parallels with the *Iliad*; however, these parallels are inverted, because in the *Iliad* it is the Trojans who set fire to the Greek ships. Turnus, the Trojans' enemy, here has taken on the role of the Trojan Hector.

3. We get another glimpse of the gods at work "behind the scenes," because the ships are saved from burning by the "mother of the gods," an amalgamation of the Greek goddess Rhea (wife of Kronos/Saturn and mother of Zeus/Jupiter), and the Near-Eastern goddess Cybele, who lived on Mt. Ida outside Troy.

4. The Trojan ships were made from trees that grew on Ida. Jupiter had promised the mother goddess that when the ships' task was done, they would turn into sea-nymphs, which they do. This is mistakenly taken by Turnus as a good omen for his forces.

B. Virgil focuses next on Nisus and Euryalus, a pair of Trojans who were introduced in Book V, as competitors in the footrace held in honor of Anchises.

1. They represent an important subsidiary theme in the *Aeneid*, that of a pair of men, one very young (Euryalus) and one somewhat older (Nisus), who are especially devoted to one another. Aeneas and Pallas will be another such pair.

2. Nisus and Euryalus plan a night raid on the Rutulian camp. This is clearly modeled on Book X of the *Iliad*, in which Odysseus and Diomedes raid the Trojan camp, kill Dolon and various Trojan allies, and steal the marvelous horses of Rhesos.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

3. However, Virgil modifies the story and heightens the emotional pathos. Odysseus and Diomedes are successful in their raid; but Nisus and Euryalus are both killed. Their deaths prefigure the death of Pallas.
4. Virgil gives us a vivid picture of the grief of Euryalus' elderly mother (apparently the only Trojan woman to accompany Aeneas from Sicily to Italy).

II. After the Nisus and Euryalus scene, Book IX continues with a third invocation, this time to the Muse of epic poetry, Calliope, and all the other Muses. This introduces a description of Turnus' *aristeia* (or scene of exceptional valor), modeled on similar scenes in the *Iliad*.

A. Early in the description of Turnus' *aristeia*, Ascanius takes part in the fighting and kills Turnus' new brother-in-law Numanus, thus cementing Turnus' hatred for Aeneas' family as well as for Aeneas himself.

B. Ascanius' action leads to another direct divine intervention, when Apollo appears in disguise to congratulate the boy but also to warn him to refrain from further fighting.
1. Apollo is disguised, but the Trojans recognize him by his divine arrows and by the rattle of his quiver as he flies away.
2. Virgil's gods seem to be particularly recognizable when they turn *away* from humans; compare the description of Venus in Book I.
3. This is a good time to consider the question of Ascanius' age. He acts like a young man, but he may be much younger, depending on how one interprets the chronology of the story.

C. Turnus' *aristeia* continues through the end of Book IX, with some very vivid descriptions of battle slaughter.
1. Turnus makes his way inside the Trojans' gates.
2. Mars puts courage into the Latins' hearts and fear into the Trojans'.
3. Finally, the Trojans rally, and Jupiter forbids Juno to encourage Turnus.
4. Book IX ends with Turnus leaping into the Tiber and being carried back to his own men.

III. Book X opens with a council of the gods, called by Jupiter. The action then returns to the ongoing battle, with the important point that Aeneas returns, bringing the allies (including some Etruscans) he has gathered.

A. The importance is marked by another mini-invocation of the Muses and by a "catalog" of Aeneas' allies (cf. *Iliad*, Book II).

B. Aeneas returns by ship; he is escorted by the sea-nymphs who used to be his own ships.

C. When the Rutulians see Aeneas and his new allies approach, Aeneas' helmet glows and his shield spouts flames. This picks up the image of Achilles appearing flame-capped in *Iliad* XVIII.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

D. Once again, we have an inversion; the Trojan Aeneas here corresponds to the Greek Achilles, just as the Latin Turnus corresponded to the Trojan Hector in Book IX.

IV. As the battle continues, Turnus kills Pallas, which leads to Aeneas' most ruthless fighting in the epic.

A. Pallas prays to Hercules, who weeps over Pallas' impending fate.

1. .Jupiter reminds Hercules that each human has a fated day of death and that fame is mortals' recompense for mortality.

2. This scene clearly recalls the death of Zeus' son Sarpedon in the *Iliad*.

B. Turnus strips Pallas' sword-belt from his body.

C. At the news of Pallas' death, Aeneas completely loses his self-control and gives way to *furor*.

1. He seizes eight enemy youths to offer as human sacrifice on Pallas' funeral pyre.

2. He refuses to show pity to suppliants.

3. A simile compares him to a monster.

D. With Jupiter's consent, Juno removes Turnus from the battle by making a phantom of Aeneas that leads Turnus onto a ship. Juno then cuts the ship's cable, and Turnus is carried out to sea.

E. Aeneas kills the young Lausus, whom he pities even as he kills him, and then Lausus' father Mezentius, whose grief for his son reiterates the theme of elderly parents and young sons.

F. Mezentius' death ends Book X.

Essential Reading:

Aeneid, Books IX and X.

Supplementary Reading:

Johnson, *Darkness Visible*, Ch. 3, Section 2 ("Dissolving Pathos"), pp. 59–66.

Lyne, *Further Voices*, Ch. 4, Section 12 ("Ascanius and Aeneas").

Petrini, *Child and Hero*, Ch. 3–4.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Questions to Consider:

1. What is the effect of the "inversions" we have noted in Books IX and X, where the Trojan Aeneas plays the role of the Greek Achilles while Turnus takes on the role of the Trojan Hector? Do you think that your sympathies are meant to be swayed at all by this? If so, how?
2. We saw how *furor* in the sense of "sexual passion" was a distraction from Aeneas' mission in Book IV. Can this *furor* (in the sense of "rage") also be seen as a distraction from that mission and, thus, as a temptation for Aeneas to overstress his private emotions?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Ten

The Inevitable Doom of Turnus

Scope: In this lecture, we analyze the last two books of the *Aeneid*, Books XI and XII. We discuss how the narrative builds inexorably toward Turnus' death at Aeneas' hands, through plot elements such as a broken truce, through Virgil's delineation of Turnus' and Aeneas' own actions, and through Juno's sudden agreement in Book XII to stop resisting Aeneas' eventual triumph. Finally, the lecture considers how the characters of the two warrior-maidens, Camilla in Book XI and Juturna in Book XII, underline and highlight both the inevitability of Turnus' death and several aspects of his character.

Outline

I. Books XI and XII bring the action of the *Aeneid* to its end. The narrative in these two books builds inexorably toward the death of Turnus at Aeneas' hands.

A. Book XI opens with preparations to send Pallas' body home to his father.

1. Aeneas mourns over Pallas and picks an honor guard of 1,000 men to accompany his body.

2. As he had promised to do in Book X, Aeneas also sends victims for human sacrifice in Pallas' honor.

B. Latin envoys arrive to ask Aeneas for a truce so that they can burn their dead. Aeneas reiterates that he never wanted the war, but is following his destiny.

1. Virgil calls Aeneas "good" (*bonus*) here.

2. The envoys respond with amazement and then suggest that they would be happy to support Aeneas and that Turnus should seek a treaty.

3. The truce to bury the bodies is set for twelve days.

II. The narrative of the funerals stresses the losses inflicted on both sides by the war and the effect of those losses on the already demoralized Latins.

A. Evander rushes out of his city to meet Pallas' funeral cortege and throws himself upon Pallas' bier.

1. He says that he does not blame the Trojans or Aeneas for his son's death.

2. This scene is reminiscent of Priam's mourning for Hektor and is one of several such scenes in the *Aeneid* in which an aged parent mourns for a slain only son.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

B. The relatives of the Latin dead say that Turnus should fight Aeneas in single combat.

C. Messages arrive from Diomedes, to whom the Latins had sent for help, saying that he will not send troops to fight Aeneas.

1. Diomedes places Aeneas with Hektor in his importance to the Trojan forces in holding off the Greeks and turns down the request for aid. His refusal to help motivates Latinus to suggest a peace treaty with the Trojans.
2. Drances, a Latin hostile to Turnus, taunts Turnus, who responds by saying that he will meet Aeneas in single combat.

D. While the Latins are debating, news arrives that Aeneas' troops are approaching.

III. The battle is rejoined, and the rest of Book XI focuses on the *aristeia* and death of Turnus' most exceptional ally, the virgin warrior Camilla.

A. Camilla's *aristeia* is introduced by a long speech of the goddess Diana, whom Camilla serves. Diana praises Camilla and laments her impending death.

B. After fighting very bravely, Camilla is slain by Arruns, who prays to Phoebus Apollo to be allowed to kill her.

C. Camilla's actual death is described in a line that will be repeated later, to end the *Aeneid*.

IV. Book XII focuses the action ever more closely on Turnus and Aeneas, highlighting both the valor and prowess of each man and their inevitable encounter with one another. The book begins with an abortive truce between the two sides.

A. Turnus reiterates his intention to meet Aeneas in single combat, to decide who shall marry Lavinia.

1. Latinus tries to dissuade Turnus; he points out that, because he (Latinus) is willing to give Lavinia in marriage to Aeneas if Turnus dies, he could just as well give her now with Turnus still alive.
2. Amata also pleads with Turnus not to face Aeneas in battle, but Turnus remains resolute.
3. This scene clearly recalls the episode in the *Iliad* in which Priam and Hecuba try to dissuade Hektor from fighting Achilles in single combat.
4. As Amata pleads, Lavinia listens and blushes; her blush enflames Turnus all the more.

B. Aeneas sends a message to Latinus agreeing to the single combat.

C. Juno sends for Juturna, Turnus' sister who has been transformed into an immortal nymph. Juno warns Juturna that if Turnus meets Aeneas in single combat, Turnus will die.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

D. Aeneas and Latinus meet formally and swear to a treaty, which they ratify by sacrifices and prayers.
   1. Juturna incites the Latins to break the treaty.
   2. A Rutulian soldier hurls a spear that kills a Trojan ally and the war starts again; there is a similar scene in the *Iliad* of a truce being broken over a small pretext.

V. Aeneas attempts to prevent the war from resuming full force, but cannot do so. Turnus hopes that the renewed fighting will work to his advantage.
   A. Aeneas tries to reason with his soldiers, but is wounded by an arrow and has to leave the field. Aeneas' absence gives Turnus new hope for victory, and he fights brilliantly, in complete disregard of the truce he has sworn.
      1. With Venus' help, Aeneas is cured and returns to battle. As he returns to the field, Aeneas says goodbye to Ascanius.
      2. Aeneas looks for Turnus on the battlefield, but Juturna protects her brother by disguising herself as Turnus' charioteer and keeping him away from Aeneas.
   B. At Venus' prompting, Aeneas decides to attack the walls of the Latins' city. The Latins are utterly terrified by this onslaught.
      1. Aeneas calls on Latinus as the breaker of the treaty.
      2. Amata assumes that Turnus has been killed and hangs herself.
      3. Lavinia is overwhelmed with grief at her mother's death (another example of the *molis*, or burden or cost, of the founding of Rome).
   C. Despite Juturna's objections, Turnus rushes to the city to help defend it. When he arrives, he once again suggests single combat between himself and Aeneas. Aeneas breaks off the siege of the city and rushes out to meet Turnus.
      1. Jupiter weighs the two men's fates in a scale.
      2. Turnus' sword breaks as he strikes a blow at Aeneas.
      3. Turnus runs and is pursued by Aeneas.

VI. Jupiter tells Juno that she must stop protecting Turnus and she agrees. As the *Aeneid* ends, Aeneas wounds and then kills Turnus.
   A. Juno accedes to Jupiter's command, on the condition that the Trojans accept the name and language of the Latins.
   B. Jupiter grants this, then sends a Fury to separate Juturna and Turnus.
   C. Turnus' final encounter with Aeneas is hampered by this Fury, who prevents Turnus from succeeding when he throws a boulder at Aeneas.
   D. Aeneas wounds Turnus in the leg. Turnus admits that Aeneas has won, says "Lavinia is yours," and asks for his body to be returned to his father.
   E. Aeneas hesitates for a moment, but sees the sword-belt of Pallas on Turnus' shoulder. Reminded of his loss, he kills Turnus.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

VII. The sense of inevitability in Books XI and XII is heightened by the two memorable female characters, Camilla and Juturna. Each is in a sense anomalous, or an inversion of normally expected female roles.

A. Camilla, a girl brought up by her father, is a virgin and a warrior.

1. As a virgin and follower of Diana, she has rejected a Roman woman's primary roles of marriage and motherhood.

2. As a warrior, she directly acts like a man.

3. In effect, she had no mother, but is only her father's daughter.

B. Juturna is a goddess who began her life as a human, but received immortality from Jupiter after he raped her.

1. Juturna is a mortal turned immortal, but still with human ties.

2. She is a sister more powerful than her brother.

3. She is a sex partner of Jupiter who has been befriended by Juno.

C. Camilla and Juturna thus both represent, to some extent, skewed or inverted pictures of marriage and sexuality: one is a virgin who will never marry; the other is a rape victim whose loss of her virginity also ensures that she will never marry.

1. These inversions of marriage stress the impropriety of the marriage Turnus seeks with Lavinia, since Juturna is Turnus' sister and Camilla is in many ways his double or counterpart.

2. The symbolic connection between ruined marriages and Turnus' doom is reiterated by his wearing of Pallas' sword-belt, with its depiction of the daughters of Danaus.

Essential Reading:

Aeneid, Books XI and XII.

Supplementary Reading:

Becker, "Ambiguity and the Female Warrior."

Sullivan, "Dido and the Representations of Women."

Wiltshire, *Public and Private*, Ch. 6.

Questions to Consider:

1. Can you identify any other narrative devices Virgil uses to stress the inevitability of Turnus' death?
2. Some scholars see Turnus as admirable, noble, and valiant; others see him as treacherous and ignoble. What do you think of him?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Eleven

The Gods and Fate

Scope: In this lecture, we consider the role of the gods in the *Aeneid*. We begin by distinguishing the household gods, or Penates, from the Olympian gods; the lecture then examines the complex involvement of the Olympians in the narrative. We consider the way in which the gods' interactions in the epic increase the audience's sense of the inevitability of events and how the gods and fate (*fatum*) relate to one another. Next, the lecture analyzes some specific scenes of the gods' interactions. The lecture concludes with a consideration of the character of Juno and her role in the *Aeneid*.

Outline

I. The role of the gods in the *Aeneid* is complex and multifaceted. These gods are essential for the narrative as Virgil has constructed it; their actions, desires, and decrees contribute to the unfolding of the plot by motivating key events.

A. There are two main categories of gods in the *Aeneid*: the household gods and the Olympian gods.

1. The "household gods" are represented by the *Penates* Aeneas brings with him from Troy. With one notable exception, they take no direct part in the action of the *Aeneid*.

2. The "Olympian" gods are the gods of mythology, who appeared in Homeric epic as well. They are major characters in the *Aeneid*.

B. The traditional, "mythological" view of the Olympian gods, as adapted from Greek culture, is very prominent in the *Aeneid*.

1. These traditional, anthropomorphic gods are not transcendent entities beyond the universe; rather, they are part and parcel of the universe itself, each one associated with actual aspects of the physical universe.

2. As in Homer, these anthropomorphic gods are capable of the less attractive human emotions, such as jealousy, anger, and spite.

C. Yet many critics see a different view of the gods, particularly of Jupiter, at work as well, in which Jupiter or "the gods" in general seem almost synonymous with Fate or Providence.

1. Thus, Jupiter is at one and the same time an anthropomorphic god who can (for instance) rape humans and an overarching, passionless divine force.

2. This *may* be a reflection of actual beliefs in Virgil's day; literal belief in anthropomorphic gods was quite likely a thing mainly of the past.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

3. It is worth noting that current religious ceremonies and beliefs were still addressed to the same gods Virgil includes in the *Aeneid*, however. Thus, it is very difficult to draw a line between belief and literary device.

II. The involvement of the gods in the narrative enhances the audience's sense of inevitability. Often the action of a scene could make sense on the purely human level. By showing us the divine level as well, Virgil (like Homer) makes clear that the events must happen in just this way. This is often referred to as "double motivation" or "over-determination."

A. Examples include Venus' forcing Dido to fall in love with Aeneas, Allecto's maddening of Amata and Turnus in Book VII, and even Ascanius' killing of Silvia's pet deer.

B. It would be a mistake to see the gods as merely metaphors for human emotions or desires. They are full-fledged characters in the epic.

C. As noted above, it is difficult or impossible to deduce Virgil's own beliefs, or his audience's beliefs, from the treatment of the gods in the *Aeneid*. But it is also unnecessary; these gods are credible *within* the context of the epic, whether or not Virgil or his readers really believed in them.

III. The role of the gods in the *Aeneid* is closely bound up with the concept of *fatum*, or fate.

A. *Fatum* literally means "what has been said"; thus, "decree" is another possible translation for it.

B. At times, Virgil seems to imply that it is Jupiter who "says" *fatum*.

C. Throughout the *Aeneid*, especially in Books VII–XII, it seems that, although the gods cannot alter *fatum*, they can delay it and interfere with its working out.

1. Jupiter and Juno's conversation in Book XII is crucial here. Clearly Juno *must* yield eventually, but equally clearly she could interfere in the workings of *fatum* for some time.
2. In this same conversation, we see how malleable the boundaries of *fatum* are. Aeneas is fated to found the Roman race, but apparently the details are *not* set; thus, Juno can bargain for the Trojans' change of name and language.

D. From the human view, *fatum* can seldom be known until after it has already happened. Most characters are entirely ignorant of their fates; even Aeneas, though he is told his fate over and over, often seems to doubt or forget it.

E. For us as readers, this double view of fate (from the gods' and the humans' perspective) adds poignancy, power, and inevitability to the narrative.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

IV. There are some specific scenes involving the gods that ask for closer examination now that we have read and discussed the entire *Aeneid*, particularly scenes in which the gods interact with one another.

A. The council of gods that opens Book X shows Venus and Juno each making a cogent, well-supported argument for her own side, to which Jupiter responds by saying that he will not show special favor to either side. This reiterates that the conflict between Latins and Trojans is not a simple matter (any more than was the recently concluded Roman civil war between Augustus and Antony).

B. Juno's and Venus' complicity in Dido's ruin both contributes to Virgil's portrait of Dido as a complex and overall admirable character and underlines our sense that Dido is doomed.

C. Jupiter's and Juno's conversation in Book XII, in which she agrees to stop favoring Turnus, addresses on the divine level the conflict being played out on the human level. Its essential ambiguity—just how reconciled is Juno?—reflects the difficulties of resolution that remain at the end of the *Aeneid*.

V. Finally, the character of Juno deserves special consideration on her own. Her role in the epic is based both on historical realities and narrative strategies.

A. Juno was identified with Tanit, the main goddess of the Carthaginians.

1. Thus, her fondness for Carthage is not Virgil's invention; rather, it would have appeared as a fact of history in his readers' minds.

2. Ennius had portrayed Juno as backing Carthage in the Punic Wars in his *Annales*.

B. In Roman religion, Juno was the goddess of marriage. Her role in the *Aeneid* as the perverter and disturber of Aeneas' marriages is thus all the more surprising.

C. As a character within the *Aeneid*, Juno can be read as standing for all the resistance and hardship that the Trojans must overcome.

D. The primary question about Juno is just how reconciled she really is at the end of the *Aeneid*. The uncertainties left in the readers' mind by her conversation with Jupiter reflect the uncertainties left by the end of the poem itself.

Supplementary Reading:

Braund, "Virgil and the Cosmos."

Coleman, "Gods in the *Aeneid*."

Feeney, *Gods in Epic*, Ch. 4.

Feeney, "Reconciliations of Juno."

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Johnson, *Darkness Visible*, Ch. 3, Section 5 ("The End of Book 12"), pp. 114–134.

Lyne, *Further Voices*, Ch. 2.

Williams, *Aeneid*, Ch. 7.

Questions to Consider:

1. Is it possible to construct a consistent view of *fatum* in the *Aeneid*? Is it necessary to do so?
2. How do you read Juno's speech about giving up her anger toward the Trojans in Book XII? Do you think she is indeed reconciled to Aeneas' success or do you, along with some critics, see ambiguities in the scene?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Lecture Twelve

The End of the *Aeneid* and Beyond

Scope: This lecture begins by examining perhaps the most widely discussed critical issue in the *Aeneid*: how should we interpret the end of the epic? Is Aeneas justified in killing Turnus, or should he have been merciful? We review some of the arguments on both sides of this issue, and consider the question of whether the final scene as we have it is how Virgil intended the *Aeneid* to conclude. The lecture then turns to considering the *Aeneid*'s influence on later western culture.

Outline

I. Of all the aspects of the *Aeneid* that have engendered controversy and disagreement, Aeneas' actions in the last twenty lines are perhaps the most hotly debated.

- **A.** Aeneas wounds Turnus in single combat.
- **B.** Turnus admits defeat and begs for mercy.
  1. He recognizes that he deserves to be killed, but begs for mercy.
  2. He invokes the memory of Anchises and asks Aeneas to pity his father Daunus.
  3. He concludes by saying "Lavinia is your wife; do not go further in your hatred."
- **C.** Aeneas hesitates, but then notices the belt of Pallas on Turnus' shoulder.
- **D.** Saying "Pallas strikes this blow," Aeneas kills Turnus.
- **E.** The last line of the *Aeneid* repeats the line describing Camilla's death.

II. The primary question raised by these lines is whether or not Aeneas should have spared Turnus. Some readers think that Aeneas is completely justified in killing Turnus.

- **A.** Aeneas is a warrior in the thick of battle; his hesitation when Turnus pleads for his life indicates his magnanimity and humanity, but it is anachronistic to expect him to spare Turnus.
- **B.** Aeneas cannot leave Pallas unavenged; to do so would be to fail in his *pietas* toward Pallas and toward Evander.
- **C.** Had Turnus been left alive, he would have been a focal point for Aeneas' enemies and thus a temptation to rebellion.
- **D.** Aeneas acts through anger, but *justified* anger is not to be seen as a negative thing in this context.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

E. Thus, it is Aeneas' hesitation and the temptation to spare Turnus that represent the resurgence of the "private" Aeneas; his decision to kill Turnus is the reassertion of his "public" side and is justified.

F. The end of the *Aeneid*, therefore, shows Aeneas acting appropriately for a leader and is positive.

III. Other scholars argue equally forcefully that killing Turnus represents Aeneas' failure, in the crucial moment, to embody the ideals set out for him throughout the *Aeneid*.

A. Turnus invokes the memory of Anchises in his plea for mercy. This has two implications.

1. A sub-theme of the whole second half of the *Aeneid* has been parents bereft of their young sons. Having seen Evander's grief for Pallas and as the father of a son himself, Aeneas should be able to pity the grief Turnus' father will feel.

2. Turnus' reference to Anchises reminds the reader of the last time Anchises appeared in the epic, Book VI, and the advice he gives there (essentially, how to be a Roman).

B. Anchises' advice in Book VI was to "spare the defeated/submissive and battle down the proud." Turnus here is without question defeated and submissive, so by killing him Aeneas is directly disobeying Anchises' words.

C. When Aeneas hesitates, he is moving toward the appropriate action for a leader; he should be able to subordinate his private desire for vengeance to the public good that would result from a display of mercy and *clementia*.

D. At the sight of Pallas' belt, Aeneas is overcome by anger, grief, and desire for vengeance. Thus, he kills Turnus out of private emotional passion (*furor*), not out of any reason appropriate to a great leader.

E. The end of the *Aeneid*, therefore, shows Aeneas acting inappropriately for a leader and is negative.

F. We can ask what Virgil might have been trying to say about Augustus and the new Augustan age.

IV. These questions of tone lead into another great critical controversy about the *Aeneid*: given that we know the manuscript was unfinished at Virgil's death, can we assume that Virgil intended the epic to end where it now does?

A. Is it possible that some of the ambiguities and unresolved issues critics see in the end reflect not Virgil's intention but rather the *Aeneid*'s lack of completion?

B. Most critics answer that question "no" based on internal, textual evidence.

C. But the *Aeneid* follows conventions of classical epic poetry by beginning and ending "*in media res*."

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

V. There is no question about the *Aeneid*'s influence on later literature. Finished or not, ambiguous or not, it stands as one of the most influential texts in Western culture (in art and music, as well as literature).

A. Shortly after Virgil's death, the *Aeneid* had already assumed the status of a "classic."

B. In late antiquity, it was one of the most commonly read and cited works. St. Augustine, for instance, mentions weeping over Dido's death as a child in his famous *Confessions*.

C. Christian authors justified their admiration for Virgil by allegorizing and reinterpreting his work. He was often called an *anima naturaliter christiana*: a soul naturally Christian. In particular, his Fourth Eclogue, which some took to prophesy the birth of Christ, might account for this sentiment.

D. The reverence for Virgil in the Middle Ages was so great that his works were even used as a kind of divination tool in the practice called *sortes Vergilianae*.

E. The *Aeneid*'s influence was reiterated when Dante chose to include Virgil as a character in his *Divine Comedy* and to model much of his narrative of the Inferno on *Aeneid*, Book VI.

F. The *Aeneid*'s popularity and influence continued to grow during the Renaissance and after; to name only English writers, the work of such authors as Marlowe, Spenser, and Milton is unimaginable without the *Aeneid*.

G. Its influence continues, though perhaps less obviously, to the present day (cf. G. B. Shaw's *Arms and the Man*, Joyce's *Ulysses*).

Supplementary Reading:

Bowra, C. M. "Aeneas and the Stoic Ideal."

Lyne, *Further Voices*, Ch. 4, Section 10 ("The Exit from Troy and the End of the Poem").

Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid*, Ch. 2, 8, and 9.

West, "Deaths of Hector and Turnus."

Williams, *The Aeneid*, Ch. 8.

Questions to Consider:

1. How do you think we should read Aeneas' actions at the end of the *Aeneid*?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

2. Some readers think that the end of the *Aeneid* is simply too abrupt, that Virgil cannot have intended the last line as we have it now to be the last line of the entire poem. Do you agree? If this is not Virgil's intended ending, what more would there be to say?

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Timeline

BC

1184	Traditional date of the fall of Troy.
753	Traditional date for the foundation of Rome by Romulus.
Fifth century	Hellanicus of Lesbos identifies Aeneas as the founder of the Roman people.
264–241	First Punic War.
218–202	Second Punic War.
151–146	Third Punic War; final defeat of Carthage. Corinth is captured this same year.
44	Assassination of Julius Caesar on March 15.
40	The Treaty of Brundisium manages to delay full-scale war between Mark Antony and Octavian.
c. 39–38	Virgil publishes his first book of poetry, *Eclogues*. Some time after this, Virgil gains the patronage of Maecenas and so becomes known to Octavian.
31	Battle of Actium; the turning point in the war between Octavian and Antony and Cleopatra.
30	Octavian captures Alexandria; Antony and Cleopatra commit suicide.
c. 29	Virgil publishes his second book of poetry, *Georgics*.
27	Octavian formally reinstates the magistrates, senate, and people of Rome in their old constitutional roles; paradoxically, this is when most scholars date the beginning of the Roman Empire. Octavian is awarded the title "Augustus."
23	The death of Marcellus, Augustus' nephew and son-in-law; he is mentioned in *Aeneid*, Book VI.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

19	Death of Virgil in Brundisium on Sept. 20. Tradition says that on his deathbed he asked that the unfinished manuscript of the *Aeneid* be burned.

AD

14	Death of Augustus.
Fourth century	Donatus and Servius write their commentaries on the *Aeneid*.
Fifth century	Macrobius writes *Saturnalia*, which includes many references to Virgil.
c. 1313–1321	Dante writes *The Divine Comedy*.
1553	Gavin Douglas, a Scot, does the first complete British verse translation of the *Aeneid*.
1697	Dryden publishes his great verse translation.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Glossary

Actium, Battle of: Decisive battle on the coast of Greece in 31 BC at which Octavian defeated the forces of Antony and Cleopatra.

aristeia: A scene in which a particular hero fights with exceptional valor. Homer's *Iliad* contains many examples; Virgil uses the Homeric convention in the second half of the *Aeneid*.

Carthage: Phoenician colony in northern Africa (modern-day Tunisia). In the third and second centuries BC it was a serious rival to Rome for hegemony over the Mediterranean. The three wars between Rome and Carthage are called the Punic Wars; the Third Punic War ended in 146 BC with Carthage's total defeat. In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas visits Carthage and becomes the lover of its queen, Dido.

dactylic hexameter: The meter of epic in Greek, adopted by the Romans. It is constructed of six "feet," each consisting of *either* a dactyl (one long syllable followed by two short syllables) or a spondee (two long syllables). The resulting line is flexible and varied in Latin, though it tends to sound pedestrian in English.

Empire (or Principate): The form of government that replaced the Republic in Rome. Historians date the beginning of the Roman Empire either to 31 BC, when Octavian defeated Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium, or to 27 BC, when Octavian (now Augustus) passed his first great constitutional reforms. See also **Republic**.

Epic Cycle: A series of epics, no longer extant, which told the story of those episodes of the Trojan War not contained in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Virgil drew on the Epic Cycle for the events of *Aeneid*, Book II.

epithet: an adjective or group of adjectives closely associated with a character's name. Aeneas' most common epithet is *pius*.

fatum: "What has been said"; fate. Often in the plural, *fata*.

furor: Most frequently translated as "rage," *furor* really means ungoverned passion of any sort.

in medias res: "In the middle of the subject." This phrase describes the typical opening of an epic.

mores maiorum* or *mos maiorum: "The ways, customs, or morals of the ancestors." A very powerful concept in Roman culture.

Penates: Household gods, tutelary deities. Aeneas brings his *Penates* with him from Troy to Italy.

pietas: One of the motivating concepts of the *Aeneid*, for which unfortunately there is no exact English equivalent. The derivative "piety" is misleading; *pietas* refers to much more than religious reverence. In effect, it refers to the

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

observation of one's duty toward those people and things to which one owes duty. Thus, proper behavior toward parents, spouse, child, king, gods, and country all come under the rubric of *pietas*. The adjective *pius* is Aeneas' most common epithet.

Principate: See **Empire**.

proem: The opening lines of an epic, which introduce the main theme of the poem.

Punic Wars: The three great wars fought between Rome and Carthage for hegemony over the Mediterranean. The Third Punic War ended in 146 BC with the total defeat and subjugation of Carthage.

Republic: The system of government under which Rome functioned from 508 BC until the middle of the first century BC. It is difficult to say precisely when the Republican form government ceased to function, but certainly it was dying if not dead from the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BC on. See also **Empire**.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Biographical Notes

Historical Figures

Apollonius of Rhodes. Third century BC. Librarian of the great Library of Alexandria; scholar; author of the *Argonautika*, an epic on Jason, the Argo, and the quest for the Golden Fleece, which had great influence on the *Aeneid*.

Augustus (Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus). 63 BC–AD 14. Great-nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar. After Caesar's assassination, Octavian (as he was then called) soon became an obvious contender for power; his main rival was Mark Antony. Octavian defeated the combined forces of Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC and became the uncontested head of the Roman state. In 27 BC he was granted the title Augustus, under which name he is usually identified as the first emperor of Rome.

Caesar, Gaius Julius. 100–44 BC. General, politician, and author. His assassination in 44 BC was motivated by the belief of many senators that he was planning to establish himself as king. The aftermath of his assassination led to the establishment of the Roman Empire or Principate by his adopted son and great-nephew, Augustus.

Catullus, Gaius Valerius. ?84–?54 BC. Lyric poet. The *Aeneid* includes many paraphrases, echoes, and even direct quotations of his work.

Cleopatra. 69–30 BC. Last member of the Ptolemy family to rule Egypt. A brilliant and talented ruler, she had liaisons first with Julius Caesar, to whom she probably bore a son, and Mark Antony, with whom she had three children. She was seen as a grave threat by many Romans, who feared that Antony and she planned to set up a joint empire. She and Antony were defeated by Octavian's forces at the Battle of Actium, 31 BC; they both committed suicide the next year.

Dante Alighieri. 1265–1321 AD. Florentine; author of the *Divine Comedy*, in which Virgil serves as his guide through Hell and Purgatory.

Donatus, Aelius. Fourth century AD. Grammarian; he wrote a commentary on Virgil, which is unfortunately almost entirely lost, although the "Life" of Virgil from it survives. Servius' commentary is largely based on Donatus' work.

Ennius. 239–169 BC. Roman epic poet; his *Annales* told the story of Rome from Aeneas' flight from Troy to his own time. He pioneered the use of the Greek epic meter, dactylic hexameter, in Latin. His influence on later Latin literature was immense, but unfortunately his *Annales* has not survived.

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus). 65–8 BC. A lyric poet and friend of Virgil, who introduced him to Maecenas. Most of our information on Maecenas' literary patronage comes from Horace.

Livius Andronicus. Dates unknown. In 240 BC, he produced a tragedy and a comedy at Rome; both were modeled on Greek originals. He also wrote the first

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Latin epic, a translation (or adaptation) of Homer's *Odyssey*. He can thus be said to have inaugurated Roman literature. He was perhaps half-Greek himself.

Macrobius, Ambrosius Theodosius. Fifth century AD. Scholar and writer. His *Saturnalia*, which takes the form of dialogues, contains a great deal of discussion on and information about Virgil. Servius appears as one of the characters in *Saturnalia*.

Maecenas, Gaius. Died 8 BC. Great friend of Augustus, extremely wealthy; primary patron of poets in Augustan Rome. He is the dedicatee of Virgil's *Georgics*.

Mark Antony (Marcus Antonius). 86 or 83–30 BC. Friend and supporter of Julius Caesar; main rival of Octavian for primary power after Caesar's assassination. His liaison with Cleopatra was very unpopular at Rome. Octavian defeated Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium (31 BC), and they both committed suicide the next year. Antony's suicide was motivated by a false rumor that Cleopatra was dead.

Octavia. Augustus' sister; mother of his nephew and son-in-law, Marcellus.

Octavian. See Augustus.

Servius, Marius or **Maurus**. Fourth century AD. Grammarian; wrote a commentary on Virgil largely based on Donatus' no longer extant work.

Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro). 70–19 BC. Born near Mantua. Author of the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*; generally recognized as the greatest Roman poet. Friend of Horace and Maecenas. The *Aeneid* was incomplete when he died; supposedly, he asked on his deathbed for it to be burned.

Figures Mentioned in the "Pageant of Roman Heroes," *Aeneid*, Book VI (in order of appearance)

Silvius, Procras, Capys, Numitor, Silvius Aeneas. Ancient kings of Alba Longa.

Numa. Successor to Romulus; second legendary king of Rome, the "law-giver."

Tullus. Third king of Rome, successor to Numa, a warrior.

Ancus. Fourth king of Rome (the kings were overthrown in 509 BC and the Republic began).

Decii and Drusi. The Decii, father and son, devoted themselves to death on the battlefield (in 340 and 295 BC). The Drusi were one of the foremost patrician families of Rome; Augustus' wife Livia was one.

(Manlius) Torquatus. Killed a giant Gaul in combat (361); later put his sons to death for fighting out of line.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Camillus. Recovered Rome from the Gauls after they captured it in the fourth century BC.

Mummius and Paulus. Conquerors of Greece.

Cato. Senator famous his hostility to Carthage

Cossus. One of only three Romans ever to win the *spolia opima* , a reward of honor for having killed an enemy general in single combat (he killed an Etruscan king, 437 BC).

The Gracchi. Two brothers, Tiberius Gracchus and Gaius Gracchus. They introduced political reforms that increased the rights to the Roman lower classes. Both were assassinated, Tiberius in 133 BC and Gaius in 121 BC. Their reforms and the reactions to them are often seen as beginning the long period of civil unrest in Rome that ended only with Augustus' ascension in 31 BC.

Scipios. Two famous generals/statesmen, both often surnamed Africanus; they are grandfather and (adoptive) grandson. The elder Scipio Africanus defeated the Carthaginians (under Hannibal) in 204 BC; the younger finally defeated Carthage for good in 146 BC.

Fabricius and Serranus. Famous generals.

Fabius Maximus. General whose "delaying tactics" helped defeat Hannibal.

Marcellus (1). General who won *spolia opima* for campaign in Gaul, 222 BC; killed by Carthaginians, 208.

Marcellus (2) 43–23 BC. Augustus' nephew, son of his sister Octavia; married to Augustus' daughter Julia. Augustus intended for Marcellus to be his heir, but the young man died before his twentieth birthday. Supposedly Octavia fainted when Virgil read aloud the lines from *Aeneid*, Book VI that refer to Marcellus.

Epic Characters

Achates. Aeneas' most devoted friend and comrade; his "right-hand man."

Achaemenides. One of Ulysses' men, whom Ulysses abandoned on Sicily (the Cyclops' island). Aeneas rescues him.

Achilles. The greatest Greek warrior in the Trojan War; son of the mortal Peleus and the goddess Thetis; main character of the *Iliad*; slain by Paris in the final year of the war.

Aeneas. Son of the goddess Venus and the Trojan Anchises; husband of Creusa and later of Lavinia; father of Iülus. A member of a collateral branch of the Trojan royal family. He is the main character of the *Aeneid.*

Amata. Wife of Latinus, mother of Lavinia. She greatly favors Turnus as Lavinia's intended husband and is opposed to Lavinia's marriage to Aeneas.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Anchises. Member of a collateral branch of the Trojan royal family; father of Aeneas by the goddess Venus.

Andromache. Wife of Hector, the greatest Trojan warrior; at Troy's fall, she was allotted to Achilles' son Pyrrhus as his slave. After Pyrrhus' death she married Priam's son Helenus (also taken as a slave by Pyrrhus).

Anna. Dido's sister, who advises her about her affair with Aeneas.

Aphrodite. See Venus.

Ares. See Mars.

Ascanius/Iulus. Young son of Aeneas and Creusa; ancestor of Romulus and (supposedly) of the Julius family.

Athena. See Minerva.

Camilla. Volscian maiden warrior; ally of Turnus.

Celaeno. Harpy who prophesies that the Trojans will be driven by hunger to eat their tables.

Charon. Ferryman who takes souls across the River Styx in the Underworld.

Creusa. Aeneas' first wife; mother of Ascanius. She is lost during the flight from Troy; her ghost appears to Aeneas and prophesies his arrival in Italy and marriage to "a royal bride."

Cupid. The Greek Eros; son of Venus; god of sexual desire. At Venus' command, he disguises himself as Ascanius and enflames Dido with passion for Aeneas (Book I).

Deiphobe. See The Sybil.

Deiphobus. Son of Priam; married Helen after the death of Hector. In Book VI, his ghost tells Aeneas how Helen betrayed him to the Greeks during the Sack of Troy.

Dido. The Queen of Carthage, who falls in love with Aeneas.

Diomedes. A Greek warrior, an important character in the *Iliad*. In the *Aeneid*, he has settled in Italy and is presumed to be hostile to the Trojans. In Book XI, his refusal to send help to the Latins motivates Latinus' suggestion of a treaty.

Eros. See Cupid.

Euryalus. Young Trojan, one of Aeneas' companions; devoted friend of Nisus.

Evander. King of Pallanteum, father of Pallas. Ally of Aeneas.

Hades. See Pluto.

Hecuba. Queen of Troy; wife of Priam; mother of Hector, Paris, and Cassandra.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Helen. Daughter of Jupiter and Leda; queen of Sparta; wife of Menelaus and of Paris. The most beautiful woman in the world, she was promised to Paris as his prize for awarding the Apple of Discord to Venus. Her subsequent abduction (or seduction) by Paris caused the Trojan War.

Hephaistos. See Vulcan.

Hera. See Juno.

Iülus. See Ascanius.

Jove. See Jupiter.

Juno. Greek Hera. Wife and sister of Jupiter; mother of Vulcan and Mars; the patron goddess of marriage and married women. She is also the patron of Carthage, which she loves, and the implacable enemy of the Trojans and of Aeneas.

Jupiter or Jove. Greek Zeus. The ruler of the Olympian gods. Brother and husband of Juno; brother of Pluto and Neptune; father of Venus, Apollo, Mars, Diana, Minerva, and perhaps Vulcan. Originally a sky-god, he controls thunder and lightning. The patron of justice, suppliants, and hospitality.

Juturna. Sister of Turnus; raped by Jupiter, she was granted immortality in recompense for her lost virginity.

Laocoön. Trojan priest of Neptune, who warns the Trojans against the wooden horse. He and his two sons are killed by giant sea serpents.

Latinus. King of Latium, husband of Amata, father of Lavinia. Aeneas' destined father-in-law.

Lausus. Son of Mezentius; ally of Turnus. Killed by Aeneas.

Lavinia. Daughter of Latinus and Amata; originally betrothed to Turnus, but destined to marry Aeneas.

Mars. The Greek Ares. Son of Jupiter and Hera; god of war.

Mezentius. Tuscan king who was deposed and exiled by his subjects because of his cruelty. Father of Lausus; ally of Turnus. Killed by Aeneas.

Minerva. The Greek Athena; also called Pallas. Virgin daughter of Jupiter, born from his brow. Goddess of war, women's handicrafts, and wisdom.

Neoptolemus. See Pyrrhus.

Neptune. The Greek Poseidon. Brother of Jupiter; god of the sea.

Nisus. Trojan, one of Aeneas' companions; devoted friend of Euryalus.

Odysseus. See Ulysses.

Palinurus. The pilot of Aeneas' ship, who falls overboard and is drowned at the end of Book V. Aeneas' encounters his ghost in the Underworld.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Pallas. (1) Another name for the goddess Minerva. (2) Young son of Evander, who fights under Aeneas' protection but is killed by Turnus.

Persephone. See Proserpina.

Pluto. Greek Hades. Brother of Jupiter and Neptune; husband of Proserpina; king of the underworld.

Polyphemus. The Cyclops, a giant one-eyed monster; son of Neptune. Aeneas rescues Achaemenides from him and sees Polyphemus in the distance.

Poseidon. See Neptune.

Priam. The aged king of Troy; husband of Hecuba; father of Hector, Paris, Cassandra, and many others. Killed by Pyrrhus during the Sack of Troy.

Proserpina. Greek Persephone. Wife of Pluto; queen of the Underworld.

Pyrrhus. Also called Neoptolemus. Son of Achilles. He kills Priam during the Sack of Troy.

Romulus. The legendary founder of Rome, responsible for the city's creation in 753 BC. He and his twin brother, Remus, were abandoned as infants and suckled by a she-wolf.

Sinon. A lying Greek, who persuades the Trojans to take the horse inside the city.

The Sybil. Prophet and priestess of Apollo, who lives in a grotto at Cumae; her given name is Deiphobe. She guides Aeneas through the Underworld.

Sychaeus. Dido's first husband, with whose ghost she is reunited in the Underworld.

Turnus. King of the Rutulians. Lavinia's fiance and thus Aeneas' rival. His death at Aeneas' hands ends the *Aeneid*.

Ulysses. The Greek Odysseus. King of the island of Ithaca; husband of Penelope; father of Telemachus. The craftiest and cleverest of the Greeks.

Venus. The Greek Aphrodite.

Vulcan. The Greek Hephaistos. Son of Jupiter and Juno, or perhaps of Juno alone. The smith-god, who forges Aeneas' shield in Book VIII and to some extent represents fire itself.

Zeus. See Jupiter.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Bibliography

Essential Readings: Translations of the *Aeneid*

(Note: I have yet to find a translation of the *Aeneid* that I really like. The two mentioned here are both perfectly acceptable.)

Fitzgerald, Robert. *The Aeneid*. New York: Vintage Books, 1984. This is probably the most frequently used translation in college literature courses. It translates Virgil's hexameters into quick moving, fluid, and very readable lines of iambic pentameter. The line numbers of the original are given at the foot of each page, which is very helpful to the student who is reading supplementary materials that include line references.

Mandelbaum, Allen. *The Aeneid of Virgil*. New York, Toronto, London, Sydney, Auckland: Bantam Books, 1981. This translation, like Fitzgerald's, renders the *Aeneid* into iambic pentameter. I find it slightly more sonorous than Fitzgerald's and more effective if read aloud. Original line numbers are given at the tops of the pages.

Credits: Quotations used by Professor Vandiver in the audio and videotapes are from *The Aeneid of Virgil* by Allen Mandelbaum. Translation © 1971 by Allen Mandelbaum. Used by permission of Bantam Books, a division of Random House, Inc.

Supplementary Bibliography

(*Note*: In recent decades, a vast amount has been written on Virgil and on the *Aeneid* in particular. I have tried to winnow out a representative selection of useful and interesting studies. I have avoided books that assume knowledge either of Latin or of complicated modern theoretical approaches. I have also included several works that disagree, at least to some extent, with my own view of some of the central issues in the *Aeneid*, so that students may gain some sense of the range of possible interpretations that the epics elicit. Finally, I have tried to pick works that have good bibliographies, to aid those students who wish to continue their journey through the thickets of Virgilian scholarship.)

Becker, Trudy Harrington. "Ambiguity and the Female Warrior: Vergil's Camilla," *Electronic Antiquity* 4.1 (1997). An excellent discussion of the role of Camilla in the *Aeneid*. Reprinted on website *Diotima* (http://www.uky.edu/ArtsSciences/Classics/becker.html).

Boardman, John, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray, eds. *The Oxford History of the Roman World*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. A very useful collection of essays, written with the non-specialist in mind.

Bowra, C. M. "Aeneas and the Stoic Ideal," in Harrison, *Oxford Readings*, pp. 363–377. Analyzes Aeneas' character in terms of Stoic ideals, particularly with reference to the end of the *Aeneid*.

 ©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Braund, Susanna Morton. "Virgil and the Cosmos: Religious and Philosophical Ideas," in Martindale, *Cambridge Companion*, pp. 204–221. Surveys and discusses attempts to identify Virgil with specific philosophical schools or theological outlooks and concludes that such attempts are unsuccessful.

Coleman, Robert. "The Gods in the *Aeneid*," in McAusland and Walcot, *Virgil*, pp. 39–64. Discusses the various types of gods that appear in the poem and their uses as motivating forces, explanations, narrative devices, and so on.

Feeney, D. C. *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. An in-depth study of the role of the gods in post-Homeric epic. Includes an excellent chapter on the *Aeneid*.

————. "The Reconciliations of Juno," in Harrison, *Oxford Readings*, pp. 339–362. Examines the role of Juno in the *Aeneid*, with particular reference to her role in Ennius' (lost) *Annales* as the champion of Carthage.

Galinsky, Karl. *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996. A study of Augustan culture in its historical, social, and literary aspects.

Gantz, Timothy. *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. 2 vols. Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. An extremely detailed survey of all the sources of traditional Greek myths. The materials on the Trojan War are in Volume 2.

Gransden, K. W. "The Fall of Troy," in McAusland and Walcot, *Virgil*, pp. 121–133. A careful reading of the narrative of Book II, which pays special attention to Virgil's techniques for making Aeneas' delayed departure seem neither implausible nor non-heroic.

Griffin, Jasper. *Virgil*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. A clear, well-written introduction for the interested layperson to Virgil's life, background, and works. Due to the limitations of space, the chapter on the *Aeneid* is necessarily rather superficial, but well worth reading.

Hallett, Judith P., and Marilyn B. Skinner, eds. *Roman Sexualities*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997. A collection of essays on various aspects of the Romans' view of sex, sexuality, and gender roles.

Harrison, S. J., ed. *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. A very valuable collection of essays.

Heinze, Richard. Trans. Hazel Harvey. *Virgil's Epic Technique*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1993. The first English translation of this seminal 1915 work, which inspired much Virgilian criticism in this century.

Johnson, W. R. *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1976. A very important study of the *Aeneid*, which focuses on the poem's paradoxical aspects, particularly in comparison with Homer.

Keith, Alison. "*Tandem venit amor*: A Roman Woman Speaks of Love," in Hallett and Skinner, pp. 295–310. Keith compares Virgil's presentation of Dido

to the elegiac poems written by Sulpicia, one of the few ancient women writers whose work has survived, and argues that Dido served as a model for Sulpicia's own presentation of a woman's love for a man.

Lee, Guy. "Imitation and the Poetry of Virgil," in McAusland and Walcot, *Virgil*, pp. 1–13. Compares several passages of Virgil's poetry to their Greek and Roman models and discusses the relationship between Virgil's work and those models.

Lynch, John P. "Laocoön and Sinon: Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.40–198," in McAusland and Walcot, *Virgil*, pp. 112–120. Analyzes the speeches of Laocoön and Sinon according to Roman rhetorical theory and argues that, in focusing closely on these two men's speeches, Virgil intended to stress the human reasons for Troy's fall.

Lyne, R. O. A. M. "Augustan Poetry and Society." In Boardman et al., *Oxford History*, pp. 215–244. A clear, concise account of poetic patronage in Augustan Rome and of poets who were Virgil's contemporaries.

————. *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987. An in-depth, fascinating study of some of the *Aeneid*'s most troubling ambiguities.

McAuslan, Ian , and Peter Walcot, eds. *Virgil*. Greece & Rome Studies, 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. A collection of various scholarly articles that have appeared in the journal *Greece & Rome*.

Martindale, Charles, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. A collection of in-depth essays on various aspects of Virgil's work.

Moles, J. L. "Aristotle and Dido's *Hamartia*," in McAuslan and Walcot, pp. 142–148. Analyzes *Aeneid* IV according to Aristotle's description of a Greek tragedy, with close attention to what Dido's *hamartia* ("mistake") may have been.

Petrini, Mark. *The Child and the Hero: Coming of Age in Catullus and Vergil*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997. Includes interesting chapters on Nisus and Euryalus, Pallas, and Iülus.

Putnam, Michael C. J. *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*. Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Collects several of the author's most influential essays on Virgil and on the *Aeneid*. Sometimes controversial, but always thought-provoking.

Rudd, Niall. "Dido's *Culpa*," in Harrison, *Oxford Readings*, pp. 145–166. Analyzes the question of whether Dido is "guilty" and, if so, of what.

Stockton, David. "The Founding of the Empire," in Boardman et al., *Oxford History*, pp. 146–179. A very clear, lucid account of Augustus' rise to power and his constitutional and domestic reforms.

 ©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Sullivan, J. P. "Dido and the Representations of Women in Vergil's *Aeneid*," in Wilhelm and Jones, *Two Worlds*, pp. 64–73. A rather superficial but very thought-provoking discussion.

West, D. A. "The Bough and the Gate," in Harrison, *Oxford Readings*, pp. 224–238. Clear, lucid explanation of two of the most puzzling details of *Aeneid*, Book VI. Thought-provoking suggestion that both imply a reference to Plato.

————. "The Deaths of Hector and Turnus," in McAuslan and Walcot, pp. 14–23. A very interesting comparison of the death of Turnus at the end of the *Aeneid* to its primary model, the death of Hector in the *Iliad*.

Wilhelm, Robert M., and Howard Jones, eds. *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992. A collection of essays on various aspects of Virgilian studies.

Williams, R. D. *The Aeneid*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1987. A clear, useful introduction to the poem, written for non-specialists.

Wiltshire, Susan Ford. *Public and Private in Vergil's Aeneid*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989. A careful and thorough study of the tensions between the public and private realms of emotion and endeavor in the *Aeneid*.

Wiseman, T. P. *Remus: A Roman Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. A thorough, very readable, and fascinating exploration of the function of Remus in Roman myth and of the Romulus and Remus story overall. Includes an appendix giving various different ancient versions of Rome's foundation story.

Woodford, Susan. *The Trojan War in Ancient Art*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993. A useful summary of the mythical background to the Trojan War, with illustrations from ancient art.

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

Notes

©1999 The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

COURSE GUIDEBOOK

The *Aeneid* of Virgil

Lecture 1: Introduction
Lecture 2: From Aeneas to Romulus
Lecture 3: Rome, Augustus, and Virgil
Lecture 4: The Opening of the Aeneid
Lecture 5: From Troy to Carthage
Lecture 6: Unhappy Dido
Lecture 7: Funeral Games and a Journey to the Dead
Lecture 8: Italy and the Future
Lecture 9: Virgil's Iliad
Lecture 10: The Inevitable Doom of Turnus
Lecture 11: The Gods and Fate
Lecture 12: The End of the Aeneid and Beyond

1-800-TEACH-12
1-800-832-2412
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232
www.teach12.com

Course No.
303